





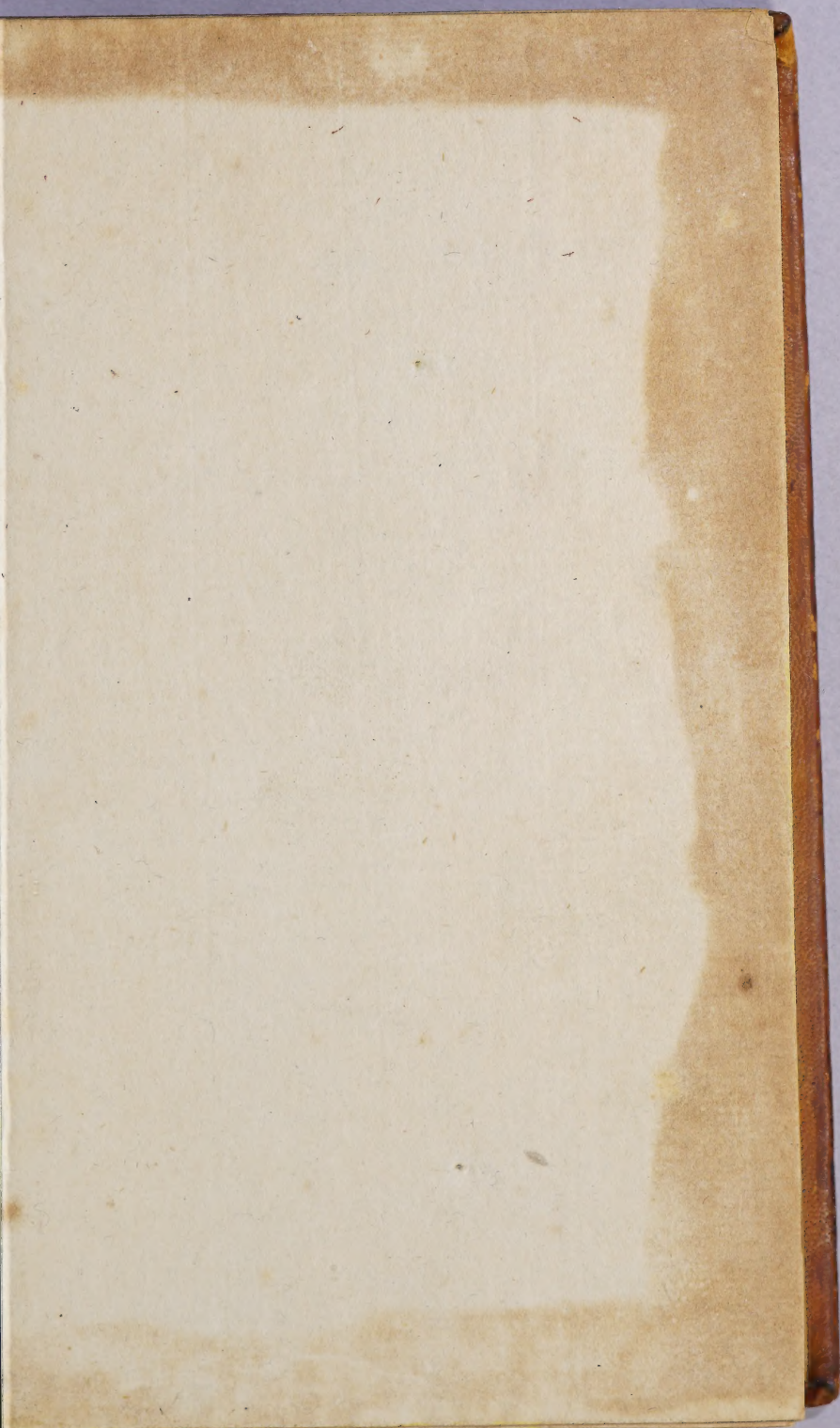
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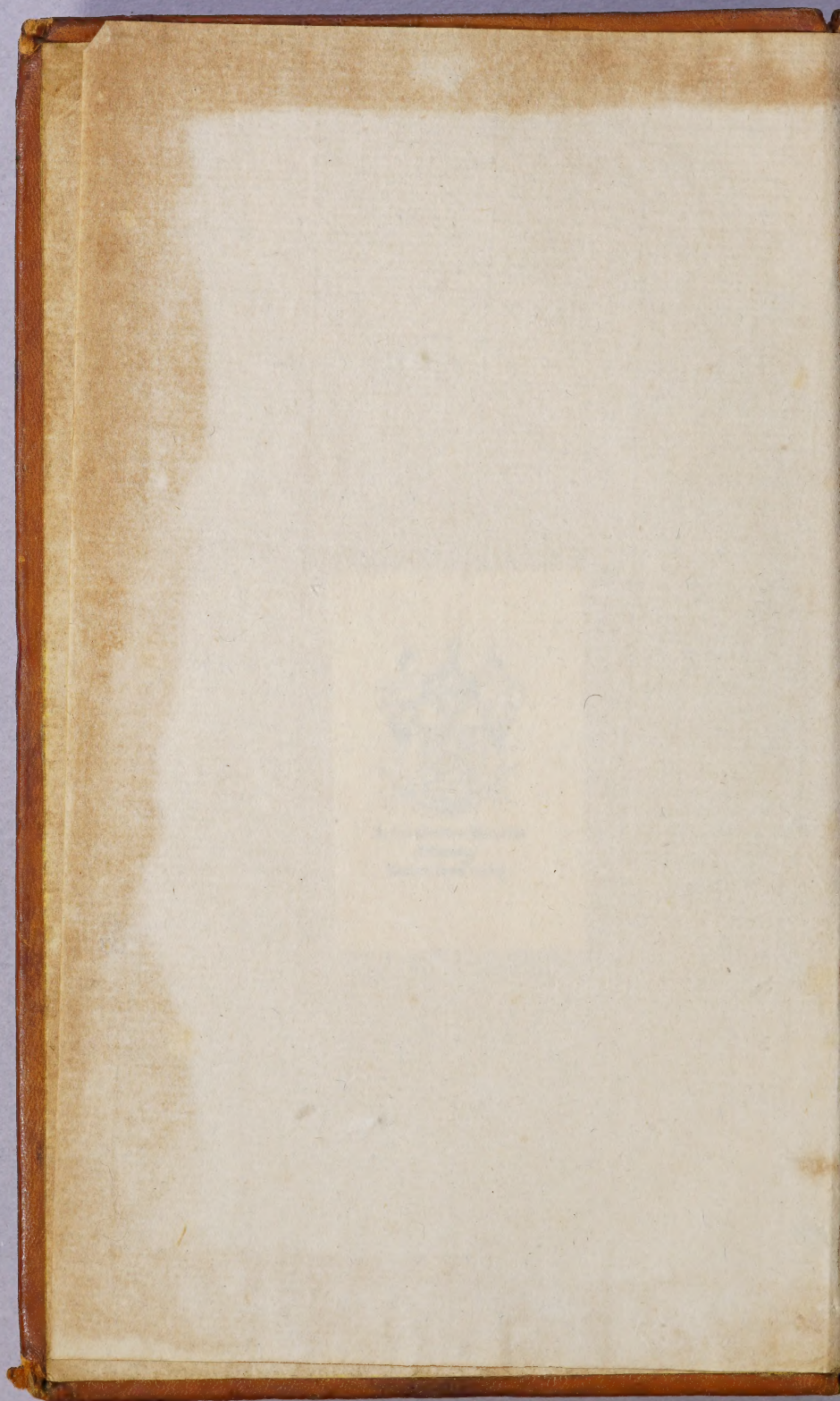


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# HISTORY

OF THE

REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC

MOVEMENT

IN THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BY

AN ACCOUNT OF THE

REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT

AND DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

IN THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

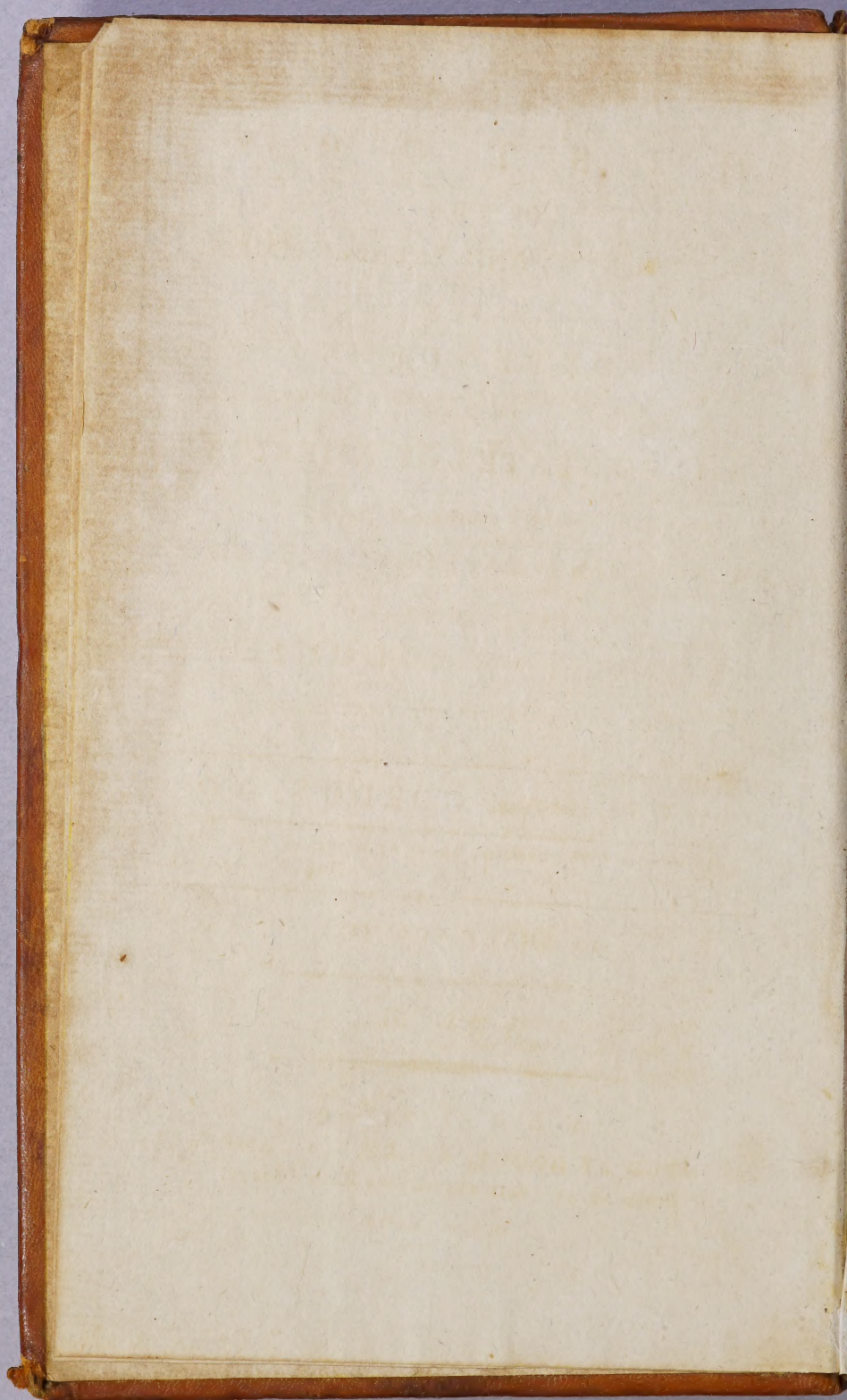
BY

WILLIAM C. CORDON

NEW YORK

1892







THE  
H I S T O R Y  
OF THE  
RISE, PROGRESS, AND ESTABLISHMENT,  
OF THE  
INDEPENDENCE  
OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:  
INCLUDING  
AN ACCOUNT OF THE LATE WAR;  
AND OF THE  
THIRTEEN COLONIES,  
FROM THEIR ORIGIN TO THAT PERIOD.

---

BY WILLIAM GORDON, D.D.

---

QUID VERUM \*\*\*\* CURO, ET ROGO ET OMNIS IN HOC SUM.  
HORAT. 1 Ep. 1 Lib.

---

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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V O L. III.

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NEW-YORK:  
PRINTED BY HODGE, ALLEN, AND CAMPBELL;  
AND SOLD AT THEIR RESPECTIVE BOOK-STORES,

M. DCC. LXXXIX.



THE  
HISTORICAL

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

AND

INDIAN TRIBES

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

AND

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OF THE

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AND

INDIAN TRIBES

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INDIAN TRIBES

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

RPJCK



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Thomas Arden, merchant, do.

Thomas Avery, Palatine township, do.

B

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C

Edward



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 Mr. George Barwell, New-York.  
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 Mr. Nicholas Brevoort, do.  
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     Samuel Boyd, do.  
     Paul Richard Bache, do.  
 Messrs. Robert and P. Bruce, grocers, do.  
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 Mr. James Bramble, smith, do.  
     Samuel Bell, cabinet-maker, do.  
     John Burger, goldsmith, do.  
     Thomas Brown, Long-Island, do.  
     Caleb Boyles, limner, do.  
     Calvin Beakman, schoolmaster, do.  
     David Boyd, do.  
 Abfalom Blachley, esq; attorney at law, do.  
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     John Burnet, merchant, do.  
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     David Burns, Orange county, do.  
     Lemuel Bruff, Nine-Partners, do.  
     William Bowdith, Shelter-Island, do.  
     Jacob Bogardus, Dutchess county, do.  
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     Lancaster Burling, wheelwright, do.  
     Robert Baker, do. do.  
     Samuel Bowne, merchant, do.  
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Capt.



## S U B S C R I B E R S   N A M E S.

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     James F. Brower, Savannah, Georgia.  
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 Mr. Jacob Bright, do.  
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 Mr. Jeremiah Brooks, Cumberland county, do.  
     Smith Bowen, do. do.  
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 John Beale, esq; do.  
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     Charles Banks, do.  
     Morton Brailsford, do.  
     Hugh Bethune, do.  
     Oliver Blackaller, do.  
     David Bogie, do.  
     William Barnfield, do.  
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     Patrick Burton, do.  
 Samuel Beach, esq; do.  
 Peter Bocquet esq; do.  
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     Samuel Beekman, do.  
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     Moses Bartram, Philadelphia.  
     Robert Bethel, do.  
     Benjamin Betterton, do.  
     Andrew Brown, do.  
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     Alexander Billand, do.  
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     James Babcock, do.  
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 Mr. Judith Barns, Bristol, Connecticut.  
     John Burton, German-town, New-York.  
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     Christopher Beekman, Albany, do.

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     Joseph Collins, esq; Edenton, N. C.  
 Gen. James Clinton, esq; Ulster county, New-York.  
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 Capt. George Crofs, merchant, do.  
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 Joseph Cowperthwait, esq; late sheriff of the city and county of  
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 De Witt Clinton, esq; New-York.  
 Pollok Cullen, esq; Edenton, North-Carolina.  
 James Cochran, esq; Savannah.  
 L. M. Cutting, esq; attorney at law, New-York.  
 Lemuel Crecy, esq; Edenton, N. C.  
 John C. Cuyler, Albany, New York.  
 Mr. Jonathan Clarke, Savannah, Georgia.  
     Charles G. Covie, Charleston, South-Carolina.  
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     John Currie, Savannah, Georgia.  
     Slaughter Cowling, do.  
     Jacob Conkline, New-York.



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 Daniel Coleman, do.  
 Patrick Coffield, Tobacconist, do.  
 Benjamin Cady, Millford, Connecticut.  
 Enoch Clarke, do.  
 Guillian Cornell, merchant, New-York.  
 Stephen Cock, do.  
 Calliopean Society, do.  
 Mr. Alexander Cairns, Staten-Island, do.  
 George Clarke, Montgomery county, New-York.  
 Robert Campbell, New-York.  
 John Campbell, bookseller, Wilmington, N. C. 14 copies.  
 Robert Campbell, bookfeller, Philadelphia.  
 Alexander Christie, painter, Philadelphia.  
 William Carey, Marietta, western territory.  
 Samuel Cannon, merchant, Fairfield.  
 David Cardogo, Savannah.  
 Malcom Campbell, teacher of languages, New-York.  
 J. Clayton, conveyancer, do.  
 George Cummings, do.  
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 Thomas Collins, Bertie, North-Carolina.  
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 Edward Cumpston, do.  
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 Archibald Campbell, vendue-master, Charleston, S. C.  
 William Cooke, merchant, do.  
 Christopher Chapman, planter, do.  
 Alexander Cameron, do. do.  
 Alexander Chisholm, do. do.  
 Joseph Compton, do. do.  
 Lewis Cameron, grocer, do.  
 Moses G. Crosby, do. do.  
 Job Colcock, vendue-master, do.  
 John Cooth, factor, do.  
 James Charles, baker, do.

## D

Simeon De Witt, esq; surveyor general, New-York.  
 Joshua Danforth, esq; Pittsfield, Massachusetts.  
 John Dey, esq; Bergen, New-Jersey.

Stephen

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 Henry William Defaussure, esq; attorney at law, do.  
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     James Dunlap, merchant, do.  
     George Duryee, jun. do.  
     Dan. R. Denning, do.  
     John Decker, Montgomery, Ulster county.  
     Moses De Witt, Ulster county.  
     John D. Dickinson, Albany.  
     John Dertz, shipwright, do.  
     John Dobson, blacksmith, do.  
     John Dunbar, do.  
     John Duffie, grocer, do.  
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     John Davis, Plymouth, Massachusetts.  
     Samuel Dunham, Willington, Connecticut.  
     John Down, Millford, do.  
     Isaac Davis, Cumberland county, New-Jersey.  
     John Davidson, Charleston, South-Carolina.  
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     J. Durie, do.  
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     Joseph Dulles, do.  
     Robert Douglas, do.  
     Agnus Dallas, do.  
     Henry Daggett, vendue-master, do.  
     Archibald Duncan, engine-maker, do.  
     James Duncan, smith, do.  
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     John Duvall, carpenter, do.  
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     John Dixon, leather dresser, do.  
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     Samuel Downer, merchant, Westfield, New-York.  
     Jonathan Dwight, Springfield, Massachusetts.  
     Timothy Dunning, merchant, Goshen, New-York.



## S U B S C R I B E R S   N A M E S.

### E

- Rev. Burges's Ellifon, Bordentown, New-Jersey.  
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     Anthony Ernest, do.  
     Abraham Evening, merchant, do.  
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     John Ellis, do. do.  
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 Capt. James Fitch, Windfor, Connecticut.  
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     Peter Freneau, esq; secretary of the state of South-Carolina.  
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     George Fox, esq; do.  
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     Jonathan Fitch, esq; New-Haven, Connecticut.  
     John Fulton, esq; East Nottingham.  
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     Joseph Foulk, do.  
     Andrew G. Fraunces, do.  
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     George Fithiam, Cumberland county, New-Jersey.  
     James Finlay, Charleston, South-Carolina.  
     Joseph Flint, grocer, do.  
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     Daniel Fisher, do. do.  
     Ferdinanda Fairfax, Virginia.  
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     Edward Ferris, Westchester county, New-York.

### G

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     William Barnard Gifford, Flatbush, New-York.  
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     John Frederick Gunnerick, grocer, do.  
     William Graham, vendue master, do.  
     Alexander Grant, baker, do.  
     John Gourlay, boot and shoemaker, do.  
 Messrs. Grierson, Stewart and co. grocers, do.  
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     John B. Grive, planter, do.  
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     Robert Gibson, Savannah, Georgia.  
     Joseph Gibbons, jun. Savannah, Georgia.  
     D. Geoghegan, Charleston, South-Carolina.

## H

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     John Sloss Hobart, esq; one of the judges of the supreme  
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Hon.



## S U B S C R I B E R S N A M E S.

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Aaron Hitchcock, Suffield, Connecticut.  
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Josiah Ogden Hoffman, esq; attorney at law, do.  
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Robert Heriot, esq; George-town, do.  
George Heriot, esq; do.  
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James Hillhouse, esq; New-Haven.  
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William Harpur, esq; Montgomery county, New-York.  
John Hallowell, esq; attorney at law, Philadelphia.  
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Mr. Samuel Hitchcock, Vermont.  
John Hamilton, Savannah, Georgia.  
John Hamilton, Elizabeth-town, New-Jersey.  
Joseph Howell, jun. New-York.  
Thomas O'Hara, do.  
Caleb D. Howard, North-Carolina.  
William Hopson, do.  
John H. Hulett, do.  
David Hubbill, Greenfield, Connecticut.  
Robert L. Hooper, Newark, New-Jersey.  
Israel Hedden, do. do.  
Abel House, house carpenter, New-York.  
—— Hitchcock, merchant, Cheshire, Connecticut.  
William Holzendorf, Savannah, Georgia.  
John Henry, merchant, New-York.  
Robert Hunter, do. do.  
George Hunter, do.

# SUBSCRIBERS NAMES.

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 William Holms, planter, do.  
 David Haig, cooper, do.  
 James Hamilton, merchant, do.  
 Joshua Hargraves, do. do.  
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 Jacob Hoffman, jun. do.  
 Roger Flahaven, jun. brush-maker, do.  
 George Hunter, grocer, New-York.  
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 William Henson, do.  
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 Theodorus James Hamilton, do.  
 Thomas Hazard, tanner and currier, do.  
 Daniel Hitchcock, carpenter, do.  
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 Robert Hyllop, do. 6 sets.  
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 John House, Lebanon, Connecticut.  
 Philemon Holt, Willington, do.  
 Paul Hocktraffer, Canajoharie, New-York.  
 Robert Henry, jun. Albany, do.  
 Daniel Hale, do. do.  
 Samuel Hill, do. do.  
 Casparius Hewson, do. do.  
 Casper W. Haynes, brewer, Philadelphia.  
 Henry Haynes, Cumberland county, New-Jersey.

## I

Gen. James Irvine, esq; Philadelphia.  
 James Jarvis, esq;  
 Samuel Jones, esq; attorney at law, New-York.  
 Samuel Jones, jun. esq; do.

Samuel



## SUBSCRIBERS NAMES.

Thomas V. Jones, esq; Albany, do.  
 Edward Jones, esq; North-Carolina.  
 Robert Johnson, esq; Salem county, West-Jersey.  
 Mayberry Jolly, esq; Charleston, South-Carolina.  
 Levi Ives, M. D. New-Haven, Connecticut.  
 Mr. James Johnston, merchant, New-York.  
     Joseph Jadwin, inspector of beef and pork, do.  
     Ebenezer Jackson, Savannah, Georgia.  
     Matthew Johnston, do. do.  
     Joseph Jones, Camden, N. Carolina.  
     Leonard Jacoby, merchant, Philadelphia.  
     Israel Israel, inn-keeper, do.  
     John Jacobs, do.  
     James Jacks, watch-maker, Charleston, South-Carolina.  
     Joseph Jones, do.  
     Jacob Jacobs, vendue-master, do.  
     Jacob Jacobs, jun. do.  
     Simeon Joceline, music master, New-Haven.  
 Messrs. B. and Jacob Judah, merchants, do.  
 Mr. John Joniston, New-York.  
     Jeremiah Jessop, tin-plate worker, do.  
     Benjamin Jones, do.

## K

John Keefe, esq; notary public, &c. New-York.  
 Capt. John Kent, Suffield, Connecticut.  
 Michael Kaltizen, esq; Charleston, S. C.  
 Mr. Richard Kipp, upholsterer, New-York.  
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     Burnet R. Kingstand, S. M. do.  
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     Alexander Kirpatrick, do.  
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     Alexander Kasson, Bethlehem, do.  
     John Kirk, Albany, New-York.  
     Benjamin Keyfer, grocer, Philadelphia.  
     Andrew Kerr, merchant, Charleston, South-Carolina.  
     Sebastian Keely, do. do.  
     William Kevan, do. do.  
     Robert Knox, factor, do.  
     William Kidd, Philadelphia.  
     Jonathan Kingsbury, Hampton, Connecticut.  
 Capt. Henry Kermit, New-York.  
     Abraham Kirby, Currituck. Hon.

## SUBSCRIBERS NAMES.

### L

- Hon. Richard H. Lee, esq; senator from Virginia.  
 Walter Livingston, esq; one of the commissioners of the  
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 Rev. Dr. J. H. Livingston, theological professor, New-York.  
 Dr. William Linn, do.  
 Peter Louw, Flatbush Long-Island.  
 Col. John Lasher, do.  
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 Dominick Lynch, esq; merchant New-York.  
 Edmund Livingston, esq; New-York.  
 Thaddeus Leavitt, esq; Suffield, Connecticut.  
 Lambert Lance, esq; attorney at law, Charleston, S. Carolina.  
 Peter R. Livingston, jun. esq; New-York.  
 Nathaniel Lawrence, esq; justice of peace, do.  
 Richard Leake, esq; Savannah, Georgia.  
 Hampton Lillibridge, esq; do.  
 Aaron Loorock, esq; Charleston, South-Carolina.  
 Solomon Legare, jun. esq; do.  
 Edward Lightwood, esq; planter, do.  
 Aaron Levy, esq; Northumberland county, Pennsylvania.  
 Morgan Lewis, esq; counsellor at law, New-York.  
 Monf. L'Enfant, major of the corps of engineers, do.  
 Mrs. Hannah Laboyteaux, do.  
 Mr. Robert Lenox, merchant, New-York.  
 James Leamy, New-York.  
 David Leavitt, jun. merchant, Bethlehem, Connecticut.  
 Jacob John Lansing, New-York.  
 Nathaniel Ledyard, do.  
 Thomas Lawrence, Mount Pleasant, Westchester, do.  
 Benjamin Larkin, bookseller, Boston, 24 sets.  
 Asa Leon, Pomphret, Connecticut.  
 Isaac Lathrop, Plymouth, Massachusetts.  
 Garrit G. Lansing, Albany, New-York.  
 David Lewis, Philadelphia.  
 Seneca Larkins, Montgomery, Pennsylvania.  
 Hermans J. Lombaert, Philadelphia.  
 Eliphalet Lyman, Woodstock, Connecticut.  
 Abraham Lott, New-York.  
 George Lotillard, tobacconist, do.  
 ———— Lindsey, stone cutter, do.  
 Arnout Love, do.  
 Samuel Lee, Elizabeth-town New-Jersey.  
 Joseph Lyon, jun. do.  
 David Lathrian, shipwright, New-York.  
 John P. Lathrian, shipwright, do.

Abraham



## S U B S C R I B E R S   N A M E S.

Mr. Abraham Leggett, Savannah, Georgia.  
 Robert Lewis, New-York.  
 Solomon Lee, Savannah, Georgia.  
 John Peter Lange, do.  
 Robert Lewis, Albany, New-York.  
 Samnel Loudon, bootseller, do. 7 fets.  
 Isham Lourie, planter, Charleston, South-Carolina.  
 Isaac Legare, planter, do.  
 Daniel Latham, distiller, do.  
 William Luyton, merchant, do.  
 John Lynes do. do.  
 Seth Lothrop, do. do.  
 Joshua Lockwood, do.  
 George Leslie, do.  
 Aaron Lopez, do.  
 Benjamin Lefesne, do.  
 William Leslie, carpenter, do.  
 James Lenox, do.  
 Master John Cale Ley, do.  
 Mr. Francis Ley, who procured 200 subscribers in Charleston.  
 John Langstaff, do.  
 Anthony L'Abbe, do.

### M

His excellency Thomas Mifflin, esq; president of the common-  
 wealth of Pennsylvania, 2 fets.  
 Hon. Thomas M'Kean, esq; L. L. D. chief justice of the supreme  
 court of the state of Pennsylvania.  
 Thomas Miles, esq; member of the supreme executive coun-  
 cil of Pennsylvania.  
 Dr. James Manning, president of the college, Providence, Rhode  
 island.  
 Brigadier general Malcom, esq; New-York.  
 Rev. Dr. John Mason, do.  
 Dr. Benjamin Moore, do.  
 Dr. Donald Macleod, Savannah, Georgia.  
 Capt. Asia Moulton, Mansfield, Connecticut.  
 Alexander Macomb, esq; New-York.  
 P. J. Munro, esq; do.  
 John M'Killop, esq; attorney at law, do.  
 Henry Machen, esq; Newbern, North-Carolina.  
 John Merrick, esq; attorney at law, Bridgewater Massachusetts.  
 Matthew M'Connell, esq; Philadelphia.  
 George Mead, esq; merchant, do.  
 James M'Call, esq; auditor general, Charleston, South-Carolina.  
 John M'Call, esq; city treasurer, do.  
 Robert Morris, esq; attorney at law, New-York.

Joseph

## S U B S C R I B E R S N A M E S.

- Joseph B. M'Kean esq; attorney at law Philadelphia,  
 Archibald MacLaine, esq; North-Carolina.  
 Alfred Moore, esq; do.  
 Mr. Peter Maxwell, do.  
   James Muir, bookbinder, Philadelphia.  
   A. M'Naughton do.  
   James Manning, jun. New-York.  
   James M'Kay, do.  
   David B. Mitchell Savannah, Georgia.  
   Charles Mitchell, Long-Island, New-York.  
   George M'Kinnon do.  
   Thomas M'Ready, carpenter do.  
   William Mooney, upholsterer, do.  
   John M'Clellan, merchant, do.  
   Benjamin Mix, Half-Moon, do.  
   William M'Clellan, Albany, do.  
   Robert M'Clellan, do. do.  
   John M'Donald, do. do.  
   James Moore, do. do.  
   Anthony Marvine, student at law, do.  
   Alexander Mills, Stamford, Connecticut.  
   Azariah Moore, Cumberland county, New-Jersey.  
   David Moore, do. do.  
 Messrs. Cochran and William, M'Cure, merchants, Charleston  
   South-Carolina,  
 Mr. George M'Cauley, do.  
   Abraham Manley, do. do.  
   William M' Donald, do. do.  
   James Macomb, do. do.  
   Andrew Muir, do. do.  
   John M'Dowell, do. do.  
   John M'Queen, do. do.  
   William Miles, taylor, do.  
   James Macbeth, do.  
   James Miller, wine merchant, do.  
   James Muirhead, stationer, do.  
   John Mitchell, watch maker, do.  
   Andrew M'Kenzie, grocer, do.  
   Isaac Mott, jun. do.  
   James Mackie, cooper, do.  
   John H. Mitchell, do.  
   John Minnick, do.  
   Jacob Mott, grocer, New-York.  
 Rev. James Muir, A. M. Alexandria.  
 Mr. John Morton, do.  
   John J. Meyers, scriviner, do.  
   John Midwinter, blacksmith, do.  
   Abel Morfe, bookfeller, New-Haven, 6 copies    Lemuel



## S U B S C R I B E R S   N A M E S .

- Mr. Lemuel Mather, jun. Lyme, Connecticut.  
 Patrick M'Davitt, merchant, New-York.  
 William M'Clutchie, taylor, do.  
 Rev. Alexander M'Whorter, Newark, New-Jersey.  
 Jacob Morton, esq; New-York.  
 Messrs. John and Leonard Menufi, tanners and curriers do.  
 Capt. James Morgan, South-Amboy.  
 Mr. Duncan Manson, Savannah Georgia.  
 George Miller, do.  
 Major Serenus Mayer, South-Carolina.  
 Mr. Archibald M'Larchlan, Charleston, S. C.  
 John Marshall, cabinet maker, do.  
 Edward M'Credy, tavern keeper, do.  
 Leonard Martin, do.  
 John Christopher Martin, do.  
 William Mason, esq; do.  
 Daniel Mazycke, esq; captain in the late 2d regiment of South-Carolina, continental line, do.  
 Stephen Mazycke esq; lieutenant in the late 2d regiment of South-Carolina, continental line, do.  
 Mr. Thomas Mitchell, George-town, South-Carolina.  
 Isaac Mickle, esq; New-Jersey.  
 Richard Martin, esq; Philadelphia.  
 Mr. John Mortimer, Virginia.  
 Dr. Samuel Mather, Lyme, Connecticut.  
 Dr. John O'Minor, Groton, do.  
 Mr. Oliver Mildeberger, leather dresser, New-York.  
 Joseph Macomb, bricklayer, do.

### N

- Rev. William Nixon, Charleston, South-Carolina.  
 Colonel Humphrey Nichols, Bertie, North-Carolina.  
 William Neilson, esq; merchant, New-York.  
 Mr. Dan. Newcomb, Dutchess county, Clinton-town, do  
 Samuel Norton, do.  
 Mr. George Nixen, do.  
 John Nourse, do.  
 Thomas Nixon, merchant, do.  
 Daniel Nevin, esq; do.  
 Mr. John Norcom, Chowan, North-Carolina.  
 Matthew Noyes, A. M. Lyme, Connecticut.  
 Joseph Newlands, Albany, New-York.  
 Nicholas Norris, grocer, do.  
 George Nelson, merchant, do.  
 Isaac Neufville, do.  
 Peter Marshall Neufville, do.

Mr.

## S U B S C R I B E R S   N A M E S .

Mr. Abraham Newton, Albany.  
 Elisha Niles, Chatham, Connecticut.  
 Robert Nichols, New-York.  
 Isaac Nichols, cabinet maker, do.  
 Manuel Noah, do.  
 J. H. Nicholson, student at law, Chester-town, Maryland.  
 Israel Navarro, New-York.

### O

Mr. James Orton, New-York.  
 Andrew Onderdonk paper-maker Hempsted-harbour,  
 Long-Island.  
 Henry Oudinaarde, merchant, New-York.  
 Hugh Orr, Albany, do.  
 David Oliphant, jun. coach painter, Charleston, S. C.  
 Lewis Ogden, merchant, New-York.  
 Owen Owens, Savannah, Georgia.  
 James O'Hear, Charleston, South-Carolina.  
 Oxford Library, Pennsylvania.

### P

Rev. Elihu Palmer, Augusta, Georgia.  
 Charles Pettigrew, North-Carolina.  
 John Pintard, esq; New-York.  
 Michael Payne, esq; Edenton, North-Carolina.  
 Abeal Pease, esq; Somers, Connecticut.  
 Elisha Pitkin, esq; East Hartford, Connecticut.  
 John Postill, esq; Charleston, South-Carolina.  
 John Palmer, esq; Santee, do.  
 Daniel Phoenix, esq; city treasurer, New-York.  
 Mr. William Payne, east Hampton.  
 Jonathan Penny, New-York.  
 Mills Philips, merchant, Smith-town. do.  
 Alexander Peacock Flet her, do.  
 Nathaniel Patten, book seller, Hartford, 14 sets.  
 John P. Pearfs, New-York.  
 Jotham Post, do.  
 David Poignard, Boston.  
 Colonel Edward Pope, Newbedford, Massachusetts.  
 Mr. Joseph Palmer, planter, Charleston, South-Carolina.  
 Joseph Parfell, surveyor, do.  
 Thomas Philips saddler, do.  
 William Payne, merchant, do.  
 Matthew Pitt, do.



## S U B S C R I B E R S   N A M E S .

Mr. Clement Prince, Charleston, S. C.  
 George Peters, Philadelphia.  
 Thomas M. Porte, Haddonfield, Pennsylvania.  
 Martin Pierre, hair-dresser, Philadelphia.  
 James Poupard, engraver, do.  
 John Porter, brush-maker, do.  
 Lee Peck, Lyme, Connecticut.  
 Joseph Pepoon, Hebron, do.  
 Joseph Prescott, Painter, New-York.  
 Capt. Jonathan Pearsee, do.  
 Mr. Gedlon Prior, Orange county, do.  
 Benjamin Payne, do.  
 William Parker, Sagg-Harbour, do.  
 John Pearse, joiner, do.  
 Arthur Perry, Newark, New-Jersey.  
 William Pennock, Springfield, Pennsylvania.  
 John Platt, Washington, Connecticut.  
 Dr. Edmund Pendleton, Savannah, Georgia.  
 Mr. John Price, New-York.  
 David Pierfon, jun. Morristown, New-Jersey.

### Q

Samuel Quincey, esq; Roxbury, Massachusetts.  
 Mr. John Quackenbos, New-York.

### R

Colonel Henry Rutgers, New-York.  
 Major John Rogers, Caroline county, Virginia.  
 Samuel Reading, New-Barbadoes, Bergen county, N. J.  
 Rev. Dr. John Rodgers, New-York.  
 Charles Reichel, Nazareth, Pennsylvania.  
 William Rogers, A. M. professor of English and oratory,  
 in the college of Philadelphia, 6 sets.  
 Mr. Rensford, Rogers, teacher, Morristown, New-Jersey.  
 William Ruan, New-York.  
 James Renwick, merchant, do.  
 John Remmy, stone-ware manufacturer, do.  
 Henry Remsen, jun. New-York.  
 Messrs. Henry Rice and co. bookfellers, Philadelphia, 7 sets.  
 Mr. Thomas Rickett, miller, Kent county, Delaware.  
 James Robertson, Savannah, Georgia.  
 James Ronalds, carpenter, New-York.  
 Peter Riker, do.  
 Alexander Robertson, esq; merchant, do.  
 Mr. John Ramsay, merchant do.  
 Alexander Richards, Pompton, New-Jersey.  
 Nicholas Roosevelt, painter, &c. New-York. Mr.

### E

## S U B S C R I B E R S   N A M E S .

Mr. James Ricker, New-York.  
     Henry Roseboom, Albany, do.  
     George Reinheart, innkeeper and grocer, Philadelphia.  
 Bromfield Ridley, esq; attorney at law, Granville, North-Carolina.  
 Jesse Root, esq; Hartford, Connecticut.  
 Jacob Rowe, esq; Boston.  
 Captain Daniel Rockwell, East Windsor, Connecticut.  
     William Robertson, Charleston, South-Carolina.  
 Master William Gardner Rogers, Philadelphia.  
 Mr. Gracia Rivers, planter, Charleston, S. Carolina.  
     Lewis Rogers, merchant, do.  
     Christopher Rogers, do.  
     Joseph Righton, cooper, do.  
     William Rouse, tanner, do.  
     Jeremiah Rose, taylor, do.  
     David Rhea, hatter, do.  
     William Richards, Philadelphia, 4 fets.  
 Dr. James B. Read, Charleston, S. C.  
     James Ralph, Chestertown, Maryland.  
     Benjamin Ruggles, Pomfret, Connecticut.  
 John Rattoon, esq; South-Amboy, New-Jersey.  
 Mr. Elbert Roosevelt, New-York.  
     Alexander Riddell, merchant, do.  
     John Richardson, do.  
     Gerard Rutgers, do.  
     Andrew Ross, Elizabeth-town, New-Jersey.  
     Richard Randolph, Savannah, Georgia.

### S

Hon. Hector St. John de Crivecour, consul of France, N. York.  
     Mr. Smith, representative in congress from South-Carolina.  
     Samuel Spencer, one of the judges of the superior court of  
         North-Carolina.  
 Major John Stagg, New-York.  
 Don Salvador de los Monteros, do.  
 Melancton Smith, esq; do.  
 Mordecai Sheftall, esq; Savannah, Georgia.  
 Justus H. Scheuber, esq; do.  
 William Stephens, esq; do.  
 Mr. Isaac Sharplefs, New-York.  
     Phineas Smith, merchant, Sharon, Connecticut.  
     Sheftall Sheftall, Savannah, Georgia.  
     Moses Sheftall, do.  
 Dr. David Seth, New-York.  
 Mr. B. Swartwout, jun. do.  
     James Saidler, insurance broker, do.  
     James Seaman, student of physic, do.  
     Robert Snow, do.

Mr.



## S U B S C R I B E R S N A M E S.

Mr. Thomas Saunders, ship chandler, New-York.  
 Paschal N. Smith, esq; merchant, do.  
 Thomas Stoughton, esq; merchant, do.  
 Mr. James Shuter, grocer, do.  
     Doyle Sweeney, do.  
     William Stewart, book-binder do.  
     Caleb Swan, do.  
 James Smith, esq; merchant, do.  
 Samuel W. Stockton, esq; counsellor at law, &c. Trenton, N. J.  
 William Seton, esq; cashier of the bank, New-York.  
 Mr. Thomas Stevenfon, white-smith, do.  
     Thomas Stover, Savannah, Georgia.  
 Col. Isaac Stoutenburgh, New-York.  
     Benjamin Seawell Franklin, North-Carolina, 2 fets.  
 Edward Savage, esq; Salem, New-York.  
 Mr. Samuel Smith, student of divinity, Albany, do.  
     Harmanus P. Schuyler, do. do.  
     Richard Still, Albany, do.  
     Thomas Stagg, jun. do.  
     Robert Smock, merchant, Philadelphia.  
 William Sproat, esq; do.  
 John Shepherd, esq; merchant, Cumberland county, New-Jersey.  
 Mr. Nathan Sheppard, do. do.  
 Messrs. Seely & Mercielles, merchants, do. do.  
 Mr. John Seabrook, jun. planter, Charleston. S. C.  
     William Stephens, merchant, do.  
     William Shirliff, do. do.  
     H. M. Stromer, do. do.  
     John Seabrook, planter, do.  
     James Scott, grocer, do.  
 Capt. Caleb Smith, do.  
 Mr. Charles Snitter, rope-maker, do.  
     Conrad Schum, baker, do.  
     Richard Savage, M. D. do.  
     Cotton M. Stevens, do.  
     Daniel Singleton, brick-layer, do.  
     Jervis Henry Stevens, organist, do.  
     Richard Smith, New-York.  
     Daniel Stanbury, currier, do.  
     William Sandford, Newark, New-Jersey.  
 Comfort Sands, esq; merchant, New-York.  
 Joseph Strong, esq; attorney at law, Suffolk county, do.  
 Noah Smith, esq; attorney at law, Bennington, Vermont.  
 Mr. Benjamin Scudder, jun. Springfield, N. J.  
     Peter T. Schenk, Bushwick, New-York.  
 Mrs. Mary Stockton, Elizabeth-town, New-Jersey.  
 David Smith, esq; merchant, New-York.

Mr.

## SUBSCRIBERS NAMES.

- Mr. William Strachan, New-York.  
 Frederick Shober, grocer, do.  
 Stephen Seaman, jun. shipwright, do.  
 William Stearns, blacksmith, do.  
 John Stuffer, New-Astrie, do.  
 Cornelius C. Schoonmaker, Utter, do.  
 James Scott, attorney at law, Cheller-town, Maryland.  
 Charles Sandford, Lunenbergh county, Virginia.  
 William Slade, esq; attorney at law, Newbern, N. C.  
 Mr. Frederick Stanley, Windham, Connecticut.  
 George Snowden, jun. New-York.  
 John Stolesbury, Newark, New-Jersey.  
 Abraham Steener, Hope, Suffex county, do.  
 Peter Smith, storekeeper, Montgomery county, New-York.  
 Henry Sickles, do.  
 John Siow, Turner, Philadelphia.  
 Joseph Sebring, do.  
 James Seagrove, Savannah, Georgia.  
 Thomas Simons, esq; Charleston, South-Carolina.  
 Col. Oliver Spencer, Elizabeth-town, N. J.  
 Messrs. Sergeant & Cambridge, vendue-masters, Charleston, S.C.  
 Mr. Moses Sarzedas, do.  
 Thomas Smith, jun. do.  
 Samuel Smith, merchant, do.  
 John Smith, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.  
 Thomas Seddon, bookfeller, Philadelphia, 6 sets.  
 William Spotwood, bookfeller, do. 8 sets. [nia.  
 Simon Schneider, esq; Northumberland county, Pennsylv.  
 George Shaw, cabinet-maker, Philadelphia.  
 Winthrop Saltonstall, esq; New-London, Connecticut.  
 Mr. Jesse Starr, Groton, do.  
 Peleg Shaw, Stonington, do.  
 Thomas R. Smith, New-York.  
 William Steele, do.  
 Joseph Sands, do.  
 James Sculthorpe, tanner, &c. do.  
 John Stevens, Hoboken, New-Jersey.  
 Benjamin Scudder, jun. Springfield, do.  
 T  
 Hon. Charles Thomson, esq; New-York.  
 George Thatcher, esq; representative in congress from  
 Massachusetts.  
 Mr. James Trenchard, engraver, Philadelphia.  
 Rev. Samuel Tomb, Salem.  
 Mr. Urie Tobler, Savannah.  
 William Turnbull, merchant, New-York.  
 John Thomson, merchant, New-York.

Mr.



## SUBSCRIBERS NAMES

- Mr. Samuel Tredwell, Edenton N. C.  
 Jonathan Thompson, Farmington, Connecticut.  
 William Tudor, esq; Boston.  
 Mr. John Ten Broeck, Albany, New-York.  
 John Taylor, do. do.  
 Matthew Trotter, do. do.  
 Capt. Joseph Tatur, Philadelphia.  
 Mr. Charles Tew, merchant, Charleston. S. C.  
 James Thayer, do. do.  
 Edward Trefcott, merchant, do.  
 James Thompson, taylor, do.  
 Stephen Thomas, do.  
 William Tunno, merchant, do.  
 Thomas Turner esq; do.  
 Mr. Peter Thomfon, jun. Philadelphia.  
 Edward Tilghman, do.  
 Joseph Turner, do.  
 George Taylor, do.  
 John Timiton, carpenter, do.  
 Solomon Townsend, merchant, New-York.  
 Stephen Tippet, carpenter, do.  
 Capt. John Thompson, New-Brunswick, New-Jersey.  
 Mr. Peter Taultman, Orange Town.  
 William C. Thompson, parchment manufacturer, N. York.  
 William Terebee, esq; Currituck,  
 Capt. Daniel Tilden, Lebanon, Connecticut.  
 Mr. Samuel Tallmage, Rhinebeck.  
 James Theus, Charleston, South-Carolina.  
 Lewis Twiner, Savannah, Georgia.  
 Henry Ten Broeck, merchant, New-York.  
 Isaiah Thomas, bookfeller, Worcester, Massachusetts, 6 sets.  
 Henry Torker, merchant, Goshen, N. Y.  
 Nehemiah Tanis, Elizabeth-town, N. J.  
 Christian Till, Hope, Suffex County, do.

## U

- Rev. Thomas Ustick, Philadelphia.  
 Mr. Robert Underwood, New-York.  
 Francis Upton, do.  
 Mr. Joseph Y. Viax, secretary to the Spanish ambassador, New-York.  
 Abraham Van Gelder, S. M. do.  
 Daniel Van Voorhis, jeweller, do.  
 George Van Pelt, Richmond, Staten-Island.  
 Rev. John M. E. Van Harlingen, Millstone, New-Jersey.  
 Mr. K. Van Harlingen, New-York.  
 William Vannerfon, Petersburg, Virginia.  
 D. Van Broeck, student of divinity, Albany, New-York.

## S U B S C R I B E R S N A M E S.

John I. Van Rensselaer, esq; Green-Bush, do.  
 Mr. Stephen Van Rensselaer, Albany, do.  
 Philip Van Rensselaer do. do.  
 Peter Van Bergen, do. do.  
 John I. Van Scaik, do. do.  
 Robert Vardell, taylor, Charleston, S. C.  
 Capt. John Van Dyk, New-York.  
 Mr. Henry Moore Van Solinger, student of physic, do.  
 Andrew Van Buskirk, do.  
 Rev. Ulpianus Van Sinderen, minister of the Dutch reformed  
 Church, King's County, do.  
 Mr. Thomas Payer Van Nostrand, Pump Maker do.  
 Jacob Vandail, grocer, do.  
 Viner Van Zandt, Newark, New-Jersey.  
 M. Van Yeverers, Savannah, Georgia.  
 Michael Varian, New-York.  
 Henry Viele, Schaghticooke, do.

### W

Hon. Alex. White, representative in congress from Virginia.  
 Hon. John Williams, one of the judges of the superior court,  
 North-Carolina.  
 Matthias Williamson, esq; Elizabeth-town, N. J.  
 Mr. James W. Wilkin, attorney at law, Goshen.  
 Polydore B. Wisner, New-York.  
 Capt. Henry A. Williams,  
 Rev. Dr. John Witherspoon, Princeton, N. J.  
 Rev. Levy Whiteman, Wellfleet, Cape-Cod.  
 Capt. Simon White, New-York.  
 John Williams, esq; Salem, Washington county, do.  
 James Watfson, esq; merchant, do.  
 John Watts, esq; do.  
 Dr. Lemuel Wicker, Saratoga, do.  
 Thomas Williams, jun. esq; attorney at law, Boston.  
 Mr. John Wood, teacher, New-York.  
 Francis Wainwright, apothecary, do  
 Benjamin Wale, Savannah.  
 Benjamin Webley, do.  
 Robert Woodhouse, do.  
 James Woodhull, grocer, New-York.  
 William Wilfon, merchant, do.  
 Gilbert Woodhull, grocer, do.  
 Charles R. Webster, printer, Albany, 14 sets.  
 Isaac Webster, deputy sheriff, West-Chester county, North-  
 Castle.  
 Nathaniel Woodward, New-York.  
 John Wilfon, baker, do.  
 Timothy Wood, shoe-maker, New-York.  
 William W. Woolsey, do.

Mr.



## S U B S C R I B E R S   N A M E S .

- Mr. William Williams, New-York.  
 Hugh Walsh, do.  
 Josiah Willard, Weathersfield, Connecticut.  
 Henry A. Williams, Orange, County, New-York.  
 Samuel Webster Bradford, Massachusetts.  
 Rensfeler Westerlo, student of divinity, Albany, New-York.  
 Ephraim Whitaken, Hudson, do.  
 Dudley Welsh, Albany, do.  
 John H. Wendill, do. do.  
 John W. Wendill, do. do.  
 David Waters, do. do.  
 John Woodworth, Albany, New-York.  
 Benjamin Wallace, do. do.  
 Caspar Wistar, M. D. Philadelphia.  
 Philip Wager, merchant, do.  
 John Wharton, surgeon barber, do.  
 George Wescott, merchant, do.  
 Richard Wells, do. do.  
 Isaac Wheaton, esq; Cumberland county, New-Jersey.  
 Mr. Richard Wood, merchant, do.  
 Jesse Woodruff, do. do.  
 W. Wightman, merchant, & jeweller, Charleston, S. C.  
 John Wilson, merchant, do.  
 Richard Wayne, do. do.  
 Richard Wrainch, do. do.  
 Benjamin Walker, taylor, do.  
 William White, grocer, do.  
 William Wood, do.  
 Nicholas Witzell, do.  
 George Watfon, upholsterer, do.  
 Thomas Winstanley, attorney, do.  
 Theophilous Ward, schoolmaster, do.  
 James Watfon, gardiner, do.  
 John Williamson, Charleston, South-Carolina.  
 Owen Waters, Philadelphia.  
 Benjamin Workman, A. M. do.  
 Matthew Watfon, do.  
 John Wilfon, do.  
 George G. Woelpper, do.  
 William White, do.  
 William Wonderly, do.  
 Peter Walter, shoe-maker, do.  
 Moses Warren, Lyme, Connecticut.  
 David Williams, Woodstock, do.  
 William Wiggin, Lyme, do.  
 John White, merchant, New-York.  
 Mr. James Walker, merchant, New-York:  
 Rev. Nathan Woodhull, Huntington, do.

John

## S U B S C R I B E R S N A M E S.

John Warrant, esq; merchant, Bermuda.  
 Mr. Cornelius Williams, Connecticut Farms.  
     Alexander P. Waldron, storekeeper, New-York,  
 John Watkins, esq; attorney at law, do.  
 Joseph Winter, esq; do. do.  
 Capt. Benjamin Winants, Elizabeth-town, New-Jersey.  
 Dr. Henry Wood, Savannah, Georgia.  
     Samuel Wilfon, Charleston, S. C.  
 Mr. Jacob Winants, Elizabeth-town, New-Jersey.  
     Hercules Wendover, grocer, New-York.  
     William Watts, marriner, do.  
     Nathaniel Williams, Lanfingburgh, do.  
     Samuel Woodbridge, merchant, Norwich.  
     Hezekiah Williams, merchant, do.  
     Eliphalet Wicker, New-York.  
     Robert Watfon, do.  
     Isaiah Wool, do.  
     David Williamfon, Greenwich, do.

Y

Col. John Younglove, Cambridge, New-York.  
 Rev. John Young, Schenectady, do.  
 Mr. William Young, bookseller, Philadelphia, 30 sets;  
     John Young, saddler, New-York.  
     Peter Youngman, Hope, Suffex county, New-Jersey.

## A D D I T I O N A L N A M E S.

Mr. Jeronemus Alftyn, jun. New-York.  
 Dr. Moses Bloomfield, Woodbridge, Connecticut.  
 Rev. Jedediah Chapman, Orange Dale.  
     Benjamin Carpenter, Goshen, New-York.  
     Griffin Crafts, Cherry-Valley, do.  
 Gen. Dayton, Elizabeth-town, New-Jersey.  
 Jonathan Dayton, esq; do.  
 Mr. William W. Gale, Goshen.  
 Col. Samuel Hay, Aquakanok, New-Jersey.  
 Mr. Lewis Hardenburgh, Somerset county, do.  
     Shepard Kollock, printer, Elizabeth-town, 80 sets.  
     Reuben Hopkins, Goshen, New-York.  
     John Johnston, saddler, do.  
 Abraham Kitchel, esq; Morristown, New-Jersey  
 Mr. Alexander A. Linn, Somerset county, do.  
 Col. Seth Marvine, farmer, Goshen.  
     Anthony Marvine, student at law, do.  
 Mr. David Mandeville, printer, do.  
 Joshua Merfereau, esq; Staten-Island, 2 sets.  
 Mr. Thomas Maule, merchant, New-York.  
 Rev. Uzal Ogden, Newark, New-Jersey.  
 Aaron Ogden, esq; Elizabeth-town, do.  
 Messrs. Hodge & Wills, printers, North-Carolina.



## A D D I T I O N A L   N A M E S .

Hon. Arthur Lee, esq; New-York.  
     Samuel Spencer esq; one of the judges of the superior  
     court, Anson, N. C.  
 Col. Robert Rowan, Fayetteville, do.  
     John Willis, Lumberton, do.  
     David Smith, Cumberland, do.  
     Lee Dekeyser, Fayetteville, do.  
     John Porterfield, do. do.  
     Thomas Armstrong, Cumberland do.  
     Joseph Heindon, Wilkes, do.  
     Gilford Dudley, Fayetteville, do.  
 Major John Cowenhoven, New-York.  
 Capt, Benjamin Walker, Chatham, N. C.  
 Doctor Joshua Carmen, Fayetteville, do.  
     John Sibley, do. do.  
     Jos. Maud, New-York.  
 Peter Lefferts, esq; New-York.  
 Simon Cortelyou, esq; do.  
 Jacobus L. Lefferts, esq; do.  
 Alexander Work, esq; county of Iredell, N. C.  
 Adlai Osborn, esq; do. do.  
 Adam Brevard, esq; do. do.  
 David Caldwell, esq; Rowan, do.  
 Alexander Nelson, esq; Lincoln, do.  
 Jesse Carter, esq; Caswell, do.  
 Henry Lewis Lutterloh, esq; Chatham, do.  
 Matthew Jones, esq; do. do.  
 Alexander Gregory, esq; Cumberland, do.  
 Doct. John Ingram, Fayetteville, do.  
 John Williams, esq; attorney at law, Chatham, do.  
 William England, esq; Fayetteville, do.  
 William Barre Grove, esq; do. do.  
 Henry Lightfoot, esq; do. do.  
 James Hogg, esq; Hillsborough, do.  
 Mr. James Council, Bladen, do.  
 Doct. Patrick Travers, Robinsion, do.  
 W. F. Strudwick, esq; Orange, do.  
 Mr. Farquer Campbell, Cumberland, do.  
 Alexander Avera, esq; do. do.  
 Mr. Robert Adam, Fayetteville, do.  
 Mr. James Paterfon, Chatham, do.  
 Doct. Joseph Thomas, Bladen, do.  
 Patrick St. Lawrence, esq; Chatham, do.  
 Maxwell Chambers, esq; Salisbury, do.  
 John Cargill, esq; Wilkes, do.  
 Duncan Mac Farland, esq; Richmond, do.

## A D D I T I O N A L   N A M E S

Niel Little, esq; Richmond, N. C.  
 William Johnston, esq; Montgomery, do.  
 Spruce Mac Coy, esq; Salisbury, do.  
 Charles Jones, esq; Montgomery, do.  
 Mr. Rem Mortison, New-York.  
     Joseph Wheaton, sergeant at arms, to congress.  
     Leffert Mortison, jun. New-York  
     Nicholas R. Cowenhoven, do.  
     George Schmelzel, do.  
     John Moore, mason, do.  
     Tidman Hull, jun. Poughkeepsie, do.  
     Stephen Thorne, Grenville, Connecticut.  
     Lambert Clayton, county of Iredell, N. C.  
     Evan Alexander, attorney at law, Mechlenburgh, do.  
     Isaac Sessions, Fayetteville, do.  
     Philemon Hodge, Cumberland, do.  
     John Young, Fayetteville, do.  
     James Ritchie, merchant, do. do.  
     Isaac Burklow, do. do.  
     Gabriel Dubrutz, do. do.  
     Isaac Hawley, do. do.  
     Thomas Newman, merchant, do. do.  
     Alexander Biggam, do. do.  
     Joseph Beale, do. do.  
     Charles Fatham, do. do.  
     Stephen Gilmore, do. do.  
     Duncan MacAuflan, merchant, do. do.  
     Samuel Fenno, merchant, do. do.  
     James Porterfield. do. do.  
     Gilbert Eccles, Cumberland, do.  
     Dugall Campbell, Fayetteville, do.  
     James Connor, Iredell, do.  
     Daniel MacMurphey, Fayetteville, do.  
     James Grant, Hillsborough, do. do.  
     Andrew Clark, merchant, Fayetteville, do.  
     Sebastian Staiert, do. do.  
     William Jackson, Cumberland, do.  
     John Wilfon, Fayetteville, do.  
     Alexander Fergusson, do. do.  
     I. R. Gautier, Bladen, do.



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T H E

RISE, PROGRESS, AND CONCLUSION

O F T H E

NORTH AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

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L E T T E R I.

*Roxbury, Jan. 27, 1780.*

**B**EFORE we enter upon a relation of the expeditions against Penobscot and the Mohawks, let me mention, that in the beginning of August, General Washington, to secure himself the more effectually from an attack by the enemy, while weakened through the absence of the detachment under General Sullivan, gave to a double spy, in order to be communicated, the following exaggerated account of his strength ———“Fit for duty 17010, exclusive of the troops under Sullivan, General Gates to the eastward, and Colonel Hazens—the total number much greater—besides these, the new levies, 2000 from Massachusetts—those from Connecticut and other states coming in daily—a plan fixed, by which the whole strength can be drawn together in a few hours upon any great emergency.”

Colonel Francis McLean was sent from Halifax to establish a post at Penobscot, in the easternmost part of the Massachusetts state. His arrival [June 16.] gave an alarm to the government at Boston, and vigorous measures were agreed upon for preventing its establishment. The state was to have the whole honor of the expected success; and therefore Gates, who was at Providence, was neither consulted nor applied to for continental troops. General Lovel was to command the militia, with a small number of state regulars, destined for the service; while Captain Saltonstall, who commanded the Warren continental frigate, acted as commodore to the whole fleet,

consisting of near 20 sail, including armed state vessels and privateers, besides 24 transports. An embargo for 40 days was laid by the general court on all shipping, that a full supply of seamen might be the more easily procured. When the armament was ready for sailing, it lay wind bound in Nantasket road for some days. By the 25th of July, it appeared off Penobscot. Colonel M'Lean had gained information of its sailing from Boston four days before. His intended fort was incapable of affording any good defence. Two of the bastions were untouched; the remaining two with the curtains, were in no part above 4 or 5 feet high and 12 thick; the ditch in most parts not more than 3 feet deep: there was no platform laid, nor any artillery mounted. When the troops had landed, [July 28.] instead of being put upon vigorous service, the general contented himself with summoning the colonel to surrender, which being refused, they were employed two days in erecting a battery at about 750 yards distance from the fort. The colonel improved this opportunity, and what followed during an ineffectual cannonading, for finishing and strengthening his works, till he was out of all apprehension from being stormed; which he was informed by a deserter, on the 12th of August, was to be in a day or two. Colonel M'Lean, with his garrison, to their astonishment, discovered that the Americans had totally abandoned the camp and works in the night, [August 14.] and had reembarked. The cause of this mysterious event was soon evident by the appearance of Sir George Collier in the Raisonné, attended with five frigates. While Sir George lay at Sandy Hook, he gained information, on or before the 28th of July, from a Boston paper, as it is confidently asserted, of the expedition against Penobscot. He sailed for the relief of the place on the 3d of August. It was not the intention of the Massachusetts government, that General Lovell should spend much time against it; on the contrary, the speedy reduction of the place was expected. The business being lengthened out, application was made to General Gates for a continental regiment; but before it could reach half way to Penobscot, Sir George Collier entered and proceeded up the bay. By eleven o'clock in the morning, the American fleet presented themselves to his view, drawn up seemingly with the design of disputing the passage; their resolution however soon failed, and an ignominious flight took place. Sir George destroyed and took, including two which were captured on his passage, 19 armed vessels; beside the transports, and some provision vessels.



sels. The expedition against the fort was so wretchedly conducted, as to do no credit either to the general or commodore. The army and sailors had to explore a great part of their way back by land, through thick woods and desert wastes.

The Oneidas, and a few others of the six confederated Indian nations, frequently called the Mohawks, were friendly to the Americans; the rest through the power of presents, with the influence of Sir John Johnston and some others, who had interest among them, departed from the neutrality they had engaged to observe, and distinguished themselves in that cruel and destructive war, which was carried on against the back settlements. Their conduct gave rise to that plan of an expedition into their country, which has been already mentioned. When it was to be carried into execution, there were to be only two divisions; the main one under General Sullivan, and the other under General James Clinton, which was to go by the Mohawk river. When Sullivan was preparing to proceed, he presented to Congress a most expensive and extravagant list of enumerated articles, in which was a large number of eggs. He made his detachment equal to 7000 rations per day. Congress were so disgusted with the great demand, and some of the specified articles, that for some time they would not order him any. The quantity of rifle powder required, was more than could, on any calculation, be necessary. The commander in chief inculcated it upon him, that the success and efficacy of the expedition, depended absolutely on the celerity of his movements, and might be defeated, if he did not proceed as light as possible. The quarter master general supplied him with 1400 horses. When he reached Wyoming, he wrote—"Of the salted meat on hand, there is not a single pound fit to be eaten." The next day, [July 22.] the return of the troops, rank and file, was 2312. Here he waited several weeks, for more men, and for provisions to supply the loss of what had been spoiled through the villainy or carelessness of the commissaries. When General Clinton, who came by the Mohawk river without meeting with any opposition, joined him on the 21st of Aug. with about 1600 men of every kind, the whole army with its attendants, battoemen, waggoners, &c. amounted to 5000. Clinton's division, would of itself, have been sufficient for the expedition, as the Indians, against whom they marched, were only 550, accompanied by about 250 Tories, making no more than 800 in all, headed by Colonel Johnston, Major Butler and Brandt. They were greatly worn down by their long wait-

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ing for Sullivan's approach, at Newtown, where they had constructed strong breast works. The general lived well as he marched, having taken a number of ealks of tongues with him, beside live cattle to supply him with fresh provision. He kept a most extravagant table, and entertained all the officers, upon the plea of securing his influence among them, while he was making extremely free, in their presence, with the characters of the Congress and the Board of War. He carried six light field peices and two howitzers along with him; and would have the morning and evening gun fired constantly. At length he arrived [August 29.] at Newtown; and vaunted in the morning what great things he would do with and against the Indians. He began to engage them, by firing his field pieces at their breast works; which he continued while he detached General Poor to the right, round the mountain, to fall upon their left flank. Poor had to march a mile and half in full view of the Indians and their associates, who penetrated his design. They waited, however, for his approach; but observing (that when his firing announced his being engaged) other movements were made toward them, they quitted their works, and betook themselves to a sudden and precipitate flight. To the left of Sullivan there was a river, and a plain on the right side of it, along which, had a force been sent early, they could have marched round undiscovered, and have fallen in nearly upon the centre of the Indians, by the time Poor came upon their left flank. A number of riflemen desired to take that route, but were not permitted. At night Sullivan was not a little mortified upon finding how completely the enemy had escaped. He had 7 men killed and 14 wounded in the course of the day. The army marched on the 31st for Catharine's town, lying on the Seneca lake. They had to traverse a swamp several miles long; to pass through dangerous defiles, with steep hills on each side; and to ford a river, emptying itself into the lake, considerably broad in many places, with a strong current, and up to the middle of the men: its course was so serpentine, that they had to pass through it seven or eight times. Sullivan was advised not to enter the swamp till the next day, but in vain. Clinton who brought up the rear, was sufficiently fatigued by the time he reached the entrance, and being assured, that it would kill the horses and cattle to proceed, desisted from marching forward.

Notwithstanding Sullivan kept out flanking parties as he advanced, such was the steepness of the hills the narrowness and



and difficulty of the defiles, that twenty or thirty Indians might have thrown his troops into the utmost confusion. The night was so exceeding dark, that the men could see but a little way before them. They were wearied out, scattered and broken, lost all their spirits, lay down here and there, and wished to die. Had a body of the enemy fallen on them in this situation, it might have produced the most fatal consequences. Now was the general's mind racked and tortured. It was twelve at night before his troops reached the town. The Indian scouts had watched them while it was light; but had no thought of their continuing to march in so dark a night and to so late an hour. Before they got to the first house there was a most dangerous defile, so formed by nature, that had it been possessed by the five and twenty Indians, who were in the town roasting corn, they might have shot down, while ammunition lasted, what Americans they pleased, when within reach of their guns and the sight of their eyes, without risking their own persons. When the troops had safely finished their march, Sullivan declared, he would not have such another night for all his command. The men were obliged to halt all the next day to recruit; and suffered more in the preceding, than they would have done in a month's regular march.

General Sullivan continued in the Indian country, spreading desolation and destruction among the towns and plantations of the enemy, without sparing the orchards of apple and peach trees, which had been raised from pips and stones, and in some places properly planted by the advice of the missionary who had lived among them. The heat of the climate, and richness of the soil, will raise good fruit in a few years from kernels that are produced by suitable trees. Several officers thought it a degradation of the army to be employed in destroying apple and peach trees, when the very Indians in their excursions spared them, and wished the general to retract his orders for it. He was told that the trees would, in a little time, be worth to the continent at least many thousand hard dollars. He continued relentless, and said--"The Indians shall see, that there is malice enough in our hearts to destroy every thing that contributes toward their support." Some of the officers, however, who were sent out with parties to lay waste the Indian territory, would see no apple or peach trees; so that they were left to blossom and bear, for the refreshment of man or beast, friend or foe, that might chance to pass that way. Thus did General Hand and Colonel Durbin do honor to their own characters.

raffers. By the middle of October General Sullivan reached Easton in Pennsylvania on his return to join the main army. He brought back only 300 horses out of the 1400 he took with him. During his expedition, there were eleven Indians killed; two old Squaws, a negro, and a white man taken;—18 towns\* destroyed, and 150,000 bushels of corn, beside apple and peach trees. By groundless complaints, he displeased the Commander in Chief, and gave great umbrage to the Board of War and the Quarter Master General. The pompous account of his military peregrination, which he sent to Congress, made him the laugh of the officers in the army remaining under General Washington; one declared it was a little mischievous to print the whole account; another, when he had read of elegant Indian houses, was ready to question, from the abuse of the epithet, whether he understood the true meaning of the word. He soon felt himself so dissatisfied, that on the 5th of November he begged leave of Congress to resign, upon the plea of bad health: they, on the last of the month, accepted his resignation.

The carrying on of this expedition did not, however, prevent the offensive operations of the Indians and their associates. On the 23d of July, a party of 60 Indians, and 27 white men under Joseph Brandt, fell upon the Minisink settlements and burnt 10 houses, 12 barns, a fort and two mills, killed and carried off several people with considerable plunder. The militia from Goshen and parts adjacent, to the amount of 140, collected, and pursued them, but without sufficient caution and necessities, so that they were surprised and totally defeated; no more than 30 returned. Many were killed, a number made prisoners; the rest dispersed and were missing long after the action. Five days after, Captain M'Donald, at the head of 250 men, a third British, the rest Indians, took Freeland's fort, on the west branch of the Susquehanna; in which were 30 men, and 50 women and children; the captain consented that the last should be set at liberty, but the men were made prisoners of war. The party, on their way to it, had burnt houses and mills, had killed and captivated several of the inhabitants. On

\* Sullivan in his account says 40: but if a few old houses which had been deserted for several years, were met with and burnt, they were put down for a town. Stables and wood-hovels, and lodges in the field, when the Indians were called to work there, were all reckoned as houses.

† See the Remembrancer, vol. ix. p. 158.



the other side, General Williamson, with Colonel Pickens, entered the Indian country about the 22d of August, burnt and destroyed the corn of eight towns, amounting to more than 50,000 bushels. He would hearken to no proposals from the Indians, nor accept of their friendship, but insisted on their removing immediately, with their remaining property, into the settled towns of the Creeks, and residing among their countrymen, to which they agreed. Colonel Broadhead also engaged in a successful expedition against the Mingo and Munsey Indians, and the Senecas on the Alleghany river. He left Pittsburg August the 11th, with 605 rank and file, including militia and volunteers, and did not return till the 14 of September. They went about 200 miles from the fort, destroyed a number of towns, and cornfields to the amount of 500 acres, and made a great deal of plunder in skins and other articles.

The active part which the Spaniards have now taken in the present contest, must issue in favor of the American States. The Spanish Governor of Louisiana, Don Bernardo de Galvez, has acknowledged his being apprized of the commencement of hostilities between the courts of Madrid and London, on the 9th of August. The easiest way of accounting for this extraordinary circumstance, considering that the Spanish manifesto was not delivered till the 16th of June, may be by supposing that the Spanish admiral had orders immediately upon his joining Count d'Orvilliers, to dispatch a vessel to inform the Spanish governors in America, that hostilities were then commencing; and that the said vessel had so good a passage as to admit of Don Galvez receiving the dispatches on the 9th of August, within forty-six days after the junction of the combined fleet. The Governor proceeded to collect the whole force of his province, at New-Orleans, [August 19th.] and then publicly recognized the independency of the American States by beat of drum. Every thing being in readiness for the purpose, he immediately marched against the British settlements on the Mississippi. The whole force, British and German, stationed for their protection, did not amount to 500 men: and had no other cover than a newly constructed fort, or rather field redoubt. Here, however, Lieutenant Colonel Dickson stood a siege of nine days, and then obtained conditions honorable to the garrison, [September 11.] and favorable to the inhabitants. Nothing could exceed the good faith with which the Spanish Governor observed the prescribed conditions; nor the humanity and kindness with which he treated  
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his prisoners. A Spanish gentleman, Don Juan de Mirailles, has resided at Philadelphia for some considerable time: he appears to be empowered by the court of Madrid to act as their agent, and transacts his business with Congress through the medium of the French Ambassador. Being thus led to mention Congress, let us quit the operations of the field for the determinations of the grand council of the American States.

Congress having at length concluded upon an ultimatum, after much deliberation and debate, [Aug. 14.] they agreed upon instructions to the commissioner to be appointed to negotiate a treaty of peace with Great Britain, and to the minister plenipotentiary at the court of France. They pointed out to the first the boundaries he was to insist upon, and further said—"As the great object of the present defensive war, on the part of the allies, is to establish the independency of the United States; and as any treaty whereby this end cannot be obtained must be only offensive and illusory, you are therefore to make it a preliminary article to any negotiation, that Great Britain shall agree to treat with the United States as sovereign, free and independent:—You shall take special care also, that the independence of the said states be effectually assured and confirmed by the treaty or treaties of peace, according to the form and effect of the treaty of alliance with his Most Christian Majesty; and you shall not agree to such treaty or treaties, unless the same be thereby assured and confirmed:—Although it is of the utmost importance to the peace and commerce of the United States, that Canada and Nova Scotia should be ceded, and more particularly that their equal common right to the fisheries should be guaranteed to them, yet a desire of terminating the war hath induced us not to make the acquisition of these objects an ultimatum on the present occasion:—You are empowered to agree to a cessation of hostilities during the negotiation, provided our ally shall consent to the same, and provided it shall be stipulated that all the forces of the enemy shall be immediately withdrawn from the United States:—In all other matters not above-mentioned, you are to govern yourself by the alliance between his Most Christian Majesty and those states, by the advice of our allies, by your knowledge of our interests, and by your own discretion, in which we repose the fullest confidence."

To Dr. Franklin the Congress wrote—"Sir—Having determined that we would not insist on a direct acknowledgement by Great Britain of our right in the fisheries, this important  
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matter is liable to an incertitude, which may be dangerous to the political and commercial interests of the United States, we have therefore agreed and resolved—that the common right of fishing shall in no case be given up;—and that if after a treaty of peace with great Britain, she shall molest the citizens or inhabitants of any of the United States, in taking fish on the banks of Newfoundland and other fisheries of the American seas, any where excepting within the distance of three leagues of the shore of the territories remaining to Great Britain at the close of the war, such molestation (being in the opinion of congress a direct violation and breach of the peace) shall be a common cause of the said states, and the force of the union be exerted to obtain redress for the parties injured. But notwithstanding these precautions, as Great Britain may again light up the flames of war, and use our exercise of the fisheries as her pretext; and since some doubts may arise, whether this object is so effectually guarded by the treaty of alliance with his most christian majesty, that any molestation therein on the part of Great Britain, is to be considered as a *casus fœderis*; you are to endeavour to obtain of his majesty an explanation on that subject, upon the principle that notwithstanding the high confidence reposed in his wisdom and justice, yet considering the uncertainty of human affairs, and how doubts may be afterward raised in the breasts of his royal successors, the great importance of the fisheries renders the citizens of these states very solicitous to obtain his majesty's sense with relation to them, as the best security against the ambition of the British court. For this purpose you shall propose the following articles, in which nevertheless such alterations may be made as the circumstances and situation of affairs shall render convenient and proper. Should the same be agreed to and executed, you are immediately to transmit a copy thereof to our minister at the court of Spain."

"Whereas by the treaty of alliance between the most christian king and the United States of North America, the two parties guarantee mutually from that time and for ever against all other powers, to wit, the United States to his most christian majesty the possession then appertaining to the crown of France in America, as well as those which it may acquire by a future treaty of peace; and his most christian majesty guarantees on his part to the United States, all their liberty, sovereignty and independence, absolute and unlimited, as well in matters of government as commerce, and also their possessions and the additions or conquests that their confederation may obtain during the war, according to the said treaty:—And whereas the said parties did further agree

and declare, that in case of a rupture between France and England, the said reciprocal guarantee should have its full force and effect the moment such war should break out:—And *whereas* doubts may hereafter arise how far the said guarantee extends to this case, to wit, that should Great Britain molest or disturb the subjects or inhabitants of France, or of the said states, in taking fish on the banks of Newfoundland, and other the fishing banks and seas of North America, formerly and usually frequented by the subjects and inhabitants respectfully:—And *whereas* the said king and the United States have thought proper to determine with precision the true intent and meaning of the said guarantee in this respect, now therefore as a further demonstration of their mutual good will and affection, it is hereby agreed, concluded and determined as follows, to wit, That if after the conclusion of the treaty or treaties which shall terminate the present war, Great Britain shall molest or disturb the subjects or inhabitants of the said United States, in taking fish on the banks, seas and places, formerly used and frequented by them so as not to encroach on the territorial rights, which may remain to her after the termination of the present war as aforesaid, and war should thereupon break out between the said United States and Great Britain: or if Great Britain shall molest or disturb the subjects and inhabitants of France, in taking fish on the banks, seas and places formerly used and frequented by them, so as not to encroach on the territorial rights of Great Britain as aforesaid, and war should thereupon break out between France and Great Britain; in either of these cases of war as aforesaid, his most christian majesty and the said United States shall make it a common cause, and aid each other mutually with their good offices, their councils and their forces, according to the exigence of conjectures, as becomes good and faithful allies—*Provided* always that nothing herein contained shall be taken or understood, as contrary to or inconsistent with the true intent and meaning of the treaties already subsisting between his most christian majesty and the said states, but the same shall be taken and understood as explanatory of and conformable to those treaties.”

The honorable Sieur Gerard, minister plenipotentiary of France, had a private audience of congress [Sept. 17.] in order to his taking leave of them; when he mentioned in his speech his majesty's having sent a new minister plenipotentiary to America, that there might be no interruption in his care to cultivate a mutual friendship, and that Monsr. the chevalier de la Luzerne would explain to them his majesty's sentiments. The complimentary answer which followed of course need not be related.

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The day after, the following instructions to the minister plenipotentiary for negotiating with the court of Spain were prepared—"Sir—Congress have come to the following resolution, That if his catholic majesty shall accede to the treaties between France and the United States of America, and in concurrence with them continue the present war with Great Britain for the purpose expressed in the treaties aforesaid, he shall not thereby be precluded from securing to himself the Floridas; on the contrary, if he shall obtain the Floridas from Great Britain, these United States will guarantee the same to his catholic majesty; *provided* alway that the United States shall enjoy the free navigation of the river Mississippi into and from the sea. You are therefore to communicate to his most christian majesty, the desire of congress to enter into a treaty of alliance, and of amity and commerce, with his catholic majesty, and to request his favorable interposition for that purpose; at the same time you are to make such proposals to his catholic majesty as in your judgment, from circumstances, will be proper for obtaining for the United States of America, equal advantages with those which are secured to them by the treaties with his most christian majesty, observing alway the resolution aforesaid as the *ultimatum* of these United States. You are particularly to endeavour to obtain some convenient port or ports below the 31<sup>o</sup> of north latitude on the river Mississippi free for all merchants vessels, goods, wares and merchandise belonging to the inhabitants of these states. The distressed state of our finances, and the great depreciation of our paper money, incline congress to hope, that his catholic majesty, if he shall conclude a treaty with the states, will be induced to lend the money; you are therefore to represent to him the great distress of these states on that account, and to solicit a loan of five millions of dollars upon the best terms in your power, not exceeding six per cent. per ann. effectually to enable them to co-operate with the allies against the common enemy; but before you make any proposals to his catholic majesty for a loan, you are to endeavour to obtain a subsidy in consideration of the guarantee aforesaid."

Saturday the 25th, it was "resolved that Congress proceed to the nomination of a proper person for negotiating a treaty of peace." Mr. John Adams and Mr. Jay were proposed; and an adjournment took place to ten o'clock of the next day, when the members ballotted. The votes were divided, and there was no election. They ballotted again, and it was the same: the balloting therefore was postponed, and Congress "resolved, that a minister plenipotentiary be appointed to negotiate a treaty of alliance, and of amity and commerce, between the United States of America

America and his catholic majesty. Mr. Arthur Lee, Mr. John Adams, and Mr. Jay, were nominated. On the Monday the ballots were taken, and Mr. Jay was elected. Then followed the choice by ballot of a minister plenipotentiary for negotiating a treaty of peace and a treaty of commerce with Great Britain, when Mr. John Adams was elected. This election was no ground of joy to Mr. Gerard. His wishes and interest were in favor of Mr. Jay's being appointed to negotiate with Great Britain; while the latter was wrongfully suspected by the New England delegates, as being in no wise strenuously disposed to secure the fisheries. These delegates were fixed upon having Mr. J. Adams intrusted with that business, as they could confide in his steady determination never to lose sight of it, whatever might be the pleas and pretences of politicians. They could acquiesce in Mr. Jay's election to negotiate with the court of Madrid, as it paved the way for the carrying of their main point. Two days after, Mr. William Carmichael was elected secretary to Mr. Jay; Mr. Francis Dana to Mr. Adams; and lieutenant-col. Laurens to Dr. Franklin. Mr. Jay's letter of credence was signed at Philadelphia the 15th of October, when congress "resolved, That the following additional instructions be given to the minister plenipotentiary for negotiating with his catholic majesty—" Sir—You are to use your utmost endeavors for obtaining permission for the citizens and inhabitants of these states, to land and take on board their vessels, salt at the Island of Salt Tortuga; and also to cut, load and bring away, logwood and mahogany in and from the Bay of Honduras and its rivers, and to build on the shores, stores, houses and magazines for the wood cutters and their families, in the extent ceded to his Britannic majesty by the 17th article of the definitive treaty, concluded at Paris, the 10th of February, 1763, or in as great extent as can be obtained." Before the month was out, Mr. Jay sailed for Europe in company with Mr. Gerard. October the 21st, the honorable Henry Laurens, Esq. was elected by ballot to negotiate a loan in Holland: on the first of the next month he was chosen to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce with the united provinces of the low countries.

September the 1st, congress resolved, that they would, on no account, emit more bills of credit than to make the whole amount of them two hundred millions of dollars.

September 13th, they addressed a long letter to their constituents upon their finances. By that it appears, that the taxes had brought into the treasury no more than 3,027,560 dollars, and that all the monies supplied by the people of America, amounted to no more than 36,761,665 dollars and 67-90ths, that being the sum



sum of the loans and taxes then received. It holds up to the imagination, the ability of the United States to pay their whole national debt, though at the close of the war it should amount to three hundred millions of dollars, with ease in the course of twenty years; and while doing it, by inverse, romantic reasoning, represents the paper currency as a blessing at the expence of scripture language—"Let it also be remembered, that paper money is the only kind of money which cannot *make unto itself wings and fly away*: it remains with us, it will not forsake us, it is always ready and at hand for the purpose of commerce and taxes, and every industrious man can find it." The letter proceeds to show, that the people not only collectively by their representatives, but individually, have pledged their faith for the redemption of their bills, and that they possess a political capacity of doing it. Then comes a question, "Whether there is any reason to apprehend a wonton violation of the public faith?" Congress say upon it—"It is with great regret and reluctance, that we can prevail upon ourselves to take the least notice of a question, which involves in it a doubt so injurious to the honor and dignity of America. We should pay an ill compliment to the understanding and honor of every true American, were we to adduce many arguments to show the baseness or bad policy of violating our national faith, or omitting to pursue the measures necessary to preserve it. A bankrupt faithless republic would be a novelty in the political world, and appear, among reputable nations, like a common prostitute among chaste and respectable matrons. We are convinced, that the efforts and arts of our enemies will not be wanting to draw us into this humiliating and contemptible situation. Impelled by malice, and the suggestions of chagrin and disappointment, at not being able to bend our necks to their yoke, they will endeavour to force or seduce us to commit this unpardonable sin, in order to subject us to the punishment due to it, and that we may thenceforth be a reproach and a by-word among the nations. Apprized of these consequences, knowing the value of national character, and impressed with a due sense of the immutable laws of justice and honor, it is impossible that America should think without horror of such an execrable deed. Determine to finish the contest as you began it, honestly and gloriously. Let it never be said, that America had no sooner become independent than she became insolvent; or that her infant glories and growing fame were obscured and tarnished by broken contracts and violated faith, in the very hour when all the nations of the earth were admiring, and almost adoring the splendor of her rising." This letter and the resolve  
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preceding it, were probably occasioned by the prevailing subjects of conversation in Philadelphia, and the movements of the leading people. A town meeting was called, and a special committee appointed to draw up a memorial, which was signed by the president and council in their private characters, the speaker and several members of assembly, the general committee of the city, and a respectable number of citizens. It was presented to congress, on or near the day, when they addressed their constituents, and was meant to stop the further emissions of continental bills. The memorialists say—"Neither can we help expressing our apprehensions, that the ease with which money was thus procured, has induced a remissness of inquiries into the reality of its application: all which we hope will, in future, be remedied by a systematical plan of œconomy, and a regular information of expences."

September 17, Congress "resolved, That in consideration of the distinguished merit of Lieut. Col. Talbot a commission of captain in the navy of the United States be given him." They [September 24] "resolved, That a medal of gold, emblematical of the attack of the fort and works at Powle's-hook, be struck and presented to Major Lee. Four days after, upon Mr. Jay's signifying to them his acceptance of the office to which he had been appointed on the 26th, and thereupon resigned the chair, they elected Samuel Huntington, Esq. president. Such was the deficiency of flour in Virginia, that congress [Oct. 18.] resolved, that the governor should be informed of its being their opinion, that the convention troops should be supplied with meal made of Indian corn. But he was requested to inform the commanding officer of those troops, that if the commander in chief of the British forces will order supplies of flour to be sent to Virginia, passports will be ordered for the purpose when applied for. The chevalier de la Luzerne [Nov. 17.] had his audience of congress, delivered a letter from his most christian majesty, was announced to the house, and upon that rose, and addressed the congress in a speech, to which the president returned an answer.

Let us change the scene.

While count d'Estaing lay with his fleet at Cape Francois, after the conquest of Grenada, he received letters from gov. Rutledge, gen. Lincoln, the French consul at Charlestown and others, urging him to visit the American coast, and proposing an attack upon Savannah. The general engaged to join him with 1000 men certain; and promised that every exertion should be made to augment the number. The application coinciding with the king's instructions, to act in concert with the forces of the United States, whenever



whenever an occasion presented itself, he sailed for the American continent within a few days after it was received. When through the windward passage, he dispatched two ships of the line and three frigates to Charlestown to announce his coming. On the 1st of September, he arrived with a fleet of 20 sail of the line, two of fifty guns, and eleven frigates.

The appearance of the French fleet on the coasts of South Carolina and Georgia was so unexpected by the British, that the Experiment man of war, of 50 guns, Sir James Wallace Commander, and three frigates were captured. No sooner was it known at Charlestown that the count was on the coast, than Lincoln marched with all expedition for Savannah with the troops under his command: orders were also given for the South Carolina and Georgia militia to rendezvous immediately near the same place. The British were equally diligent in preparing for their defence. lieut. col. Cruger, who had a small command at Sunbury, and lieut. col. Maitland, who was in force at Beaufort, were ordered to Savannah. As the French frigates approached the bar, the Fowey and Rose, of 20 guns each, the Keppel and Germain armed vessels, retired toward the town. The battery on Tybee was destroyed. To prevent the French frigates getting too near, the Rose and Savannah armed ships, with four transports, were sunk in the channel. A boom was laid across it, and several small vessels were also sunk above the town. The seamen were appointed to different batteries. The marines were incorporated with the grenadiers of the 16th regiment; and great numbers were employed, both by day and night, in strengthening and extending the lines of defence. Count d'Estaing made repeated declarations, that he could not remain more than ten or fifteen days on shore: nevertheless, the fall of Savannah was considered as infallibly certain. Every aid was given from Charlestown, by sending small vessels to assist the French in their landing; but as the large ships of the fleet could not come near the shore, it was not effected till the 12th.

General Lincoln's troops were not far distant; but before they could join the French, the Count [Sept. 16.] summoned General Prevost to surrender to the arms of the King of France. Lincoln remonstrated to d'Estaing on his summoning Prevost to surrender to the arms of France *only*, while the Americans were acting in conjunction with him; the matter was soon settled, and the mode of all future negotiations amicably adjusted. Prevost returned a polite letter to the Count, but declined surrendering on a general summons, without any specific terms; and mentioned, that if such were proposed, as he could with honor accept,

accept, he would then give his answer. The Count, in a second letter, observed to him, that it was the part of the besieged to propose such terms as they might desire. Prevost upon that proposed a suspension of hostilities for 24 hours, as a just time absolutely necessary for deliberation and the discussion of various interests. The Count's third letter, granting the said truce, was written toward evening. Thus time was gained for the arrival of the whole detachment from Beaufort. An enterprise was undertaken to prevent its joining the royal army in Savannah, which proved unsuccessful, from the pilots not undertaking to conduct, to a proper station, the frigates destined to intercept the communication. Maitland availed himself of this circumstance, and by his exertions joined Prevost with about 400 men before the Count's second letter was received: at night, and by noon the next day, all the remainder fit for duty arrived. The safe arrival of this detachment determined the garrison to risk an assault. The French and Americans were hereby reduced to the necessity of storming or besieging the garrison. The resolution of proceeding by siege being adopted, the attention of the combined armies was immediately called to the landing of cannon, and the erecting of batteries. The distance of the fleet from the landing-place, together with the want of proper carriages to transport the various warlike articles full five miles, consumed much time. The works of the town were, in the mean while, perfecting every day by the labor of several hundred negroes, directed by Major Moncrieff the engineer. The French and Americans [Sept. 23.] broke ground in the evening: a small party of the besieged sallied out the next day, but was soon repulsed. The pursuit was continued so near to the British intrenchments, that the French were exposed to a heavy fire, by which many of them fell. On the night of the 27th, Major M'Arthur, with a party of the British picquets, advanced and fired among the besiegers so artfully, as to occasion a firing between the French and American camps. The besiegers opened [Oct. 4.] with 9 mortars, 37 cannon from the land side, and 16 from the water; which continued to play for four or five days with short intervals, but without any considerable effect. Major l'Enfant, [8.] in the morning, with five men, marched through a brisk fire from the British lines, and kindled the abbatis; but the dampness of the air, and the moisture of the green wood, prevented the success of this bold undertaking.

Soon after the commencement of the cannonade, gen. Prevost solicited for leave to send the women and children out of town. This humane request was refused from motives of policy. The combined



combined army was so confident of success, that it was suspected a desire of secreting the plunder lately taken from the South Carolinians, was a considerable object covered under the specious veil of humanity. That the commanders were suspicious, considering the stratagem Prevost had practised after being summoned, is not strange. It was also presumed, that a refusal would expedite a surrender. The period being long since elapsed which the Count had assigned for his expedition, and the engineers informing him, that more time must be spent if he expected to reduce the garrison by regular approaches, it was determined to make an assault. This measure was forced on d'Estaing by his naval officers, who had remonstrated against his continuing to risk so valuable a fleet in its present unrepaid condition on such a dangerous coast in the hurricane season; and at so great a distance from the shore, that it might be surprised by a British fleet. These remonstrances were enforced by the probability of their being attacked by a British fleet completely repaired, with their full complement of men, soldiers and artillery on board, when the ships of his Most Christian Majesty were weakened by the absence of a considerable part of their crews, artillery and officers. In a few days, the lines of the besiegers might have been carried into the works of the besieged: but under these critical circumstances no further delay could be admitted. To assault, or to raise the siege, was the only alternative. Prudence dictated the latter: a sense of honor adopted the former. The morning of the 9th was fixed for the attack. The preceding night, one James Curry, formerly a clerk at Charlestown, but now sergeant major in their volunteer company, went into Savannah with a plan of the attack. Two feints were made with the country militia; and a real attack a little before day-light on the Spring-hill battery with 3500 French troops, 600 continentals, and 350 of the Charlestown militia, headed by Count d'Estaing and General Lincoln. They marched up to the lines with great boldness: but a heavy and well-directed fire from the batteries, and a cross fire from the galleys threw the front of the column into confusion. Two standards, however, (one an American) were planted on the British redoubts. Count Pulaski, at the head of 200 horsemen, was in full gallop, riding into town between the redoubts, with an intention of charging in the rear, when he received a mortal wound. A general retreat of the assailants took place after they had stood the enemy's fire for fifty-five minutes. D'Estaing received two slight wounds; 637 of his troops, and 234\* continentals were killed or wounded: of the 350 Charle-

\* The returns made to General Lincoln.

town militia, who were in the hottest of the fire, 6 were wounded, and a captain killed. General Prevost and Major Moncrieff have deservedly acquired great reputation by this successful defence. There were not ten guns mounted on the lines on the day of the summons, and in a few days the number exceeded 80. The garrison was between 2 and 3000, including 150 militia. The damage it sustained was trifling, as the men fired under cover, and few of the assailants fired at all. It lost no other officer than Captain Taws, who defended the redoubt where the standards were planted, with the greatest bravery. Instead of mutual reproaches, which too often follow the failure of enterprises, depending upon the co-operation of different nations, the French and Americans had their confidence in and esteem for each other increased. It was thought, that the delicacy and propriety of General Lincoln's conduct on every occasion, contributed much to this agreeable circumstance. The militia almost universally returned home, immediately after the unsuccessful assault. In about ten days, Count D'Estaing reembarked his troops, artillery and baggage, and left the continent; while General Lincoln returned to South Carolina. But the French were scarcely on board, when a violent gale dispersed the whole fleet; and though the Count had ordered seven ships to repair to Hampton road in the Chesapeake, the Marquis de Vaudreuil was the only officer who was able to execute a part of the order.

While the siege of Savannah was pressing, a remarkable enterprise was effected by Colonel John White of the Georgia line. Previous to the arrival of D'Estaing on the coast of Georgia, a Captain of Delancey's 1st battalion had taken post with about 100 American royal regulars near the river Ogeechee, about 25 miles from Savannah. There were also at the same place five British vessels, four of which were armed; the largest with 14 guns, the smallest with 4, and the whole manned with about 40 sailors. Colonel White, with six volunteers, including his own servant, made them all prisoners. On September the 30th, at eleven o'clock at night, he kindled a number of fires in different places, adopted the parade of a large encampment, practised a variety of other stratagems, and summoned the captain to surrender; who was so fully impressed with an opinion, that nothing but an instant compliance could save his men from being cut in pieces by a superior force, that he made no defence. The deception was carried on with such address, that all the prisoners, amounting to 141, were secured\*; and afterward safely conducted, by three

\* General Lincoln's Letter of October the 2d, to Gov. Rutledge.



three of the captors, for 25 miles through the country, to an American post.†

Count Pulaski died before the end of October. Congress have resolved that a monument should be erected to his memory. He was a Poland of high birth, and had been concerned in a bold enterprise in his native country. With a few men he had carried off king Stanislaus from the middle of his capital, though surrounded by a numerous body of guards and a Russian army. The king, after being a prisoner for some time, escaped by the favor of one of the band, and soon afterward declared Pulaski an out-law. Nothing could be more congenial to his sentiments than to employ his arms in support of the American States. He offered his service to Congress and was honored with the rank of brigadier general. But the Count was far from being satisfied with his employ, as appears from his letter, dated Charlestown, August 19, in which he wrote—"Such has been my lot, that nothing less than my honor, which I will never forfeit, retains me in a service, which ill-treatment makes me begin to abhor. Every proceeding respecting myself has been so thoroughly mortifying that nothing but the integrity of my heart, and the fervency of my zeal, supports me under it."

Let us turn to New York.

It was not till August the 25th, that adm. Arbuthnot arrived with the fleet, which conveyed the reinforcements, camp equipage, stores and other necessaries, that were to enable Sir Henry Clinton to act with suitable vigor. The 21st of September Sir Andrew Hammond arrived with an additional force of 1500 men from Corke. These several arrivals however, did not make the British at New York easy, when they had the news of count d'Estaing's being on the American coast. The intelligence occasioned an apprehension of a formidable attack by sea and land, supposed to have been concerted, between the Count and Gen. Washington, and defensive measures were thought of. Beside adopting every other mean of a vigorous defence, transports were dispatched [Sept. 26] to Rhode Island to bring off the garrison. All things being in readiness, the royal troops evacuated Newport on the 25th of October; embarked in the evening, sailed at night, and reached New York on the 27th. They were in sufficient force while at Newport, to have made predatory excursions, and to have done much mischief; notwithstanding the troops that Gen. Gates, who was stationed at Providence, had under his command. But Gen. Sir Robert Pigot's humanity might revolt at  
such

† Dr. Ramsay's History, vol. ii. p. 35---43.

such barbarous expeditions; which is the more probable, from the strict and positive orders he gave for the observance of the most exact regularity and discipline during the evacuation. As it was universally known that he meant to be obeyed, so obedience was as universally practised. The men were no wise chargeable at their quitting the island, with any wanton cruelties, or needless destruction, or with an unjust seizure of property.\* However, as Gen. Gates could not know but that military commands might require Sir Robert Pigot to ravage the country to the extent of his power, he secured to himself the mean of gaining the earliest intelligence of every capital movement upon the island, by the aid of Lieut. Seth Chapin. The lieutenant employed a trusty woman living at Newport to write down all the information she could procure. A certain place in a rock near the water side was agreed upon, where the written intelligence was put. The woman had her particular signals; and by putting up poles or sticks as though only drying linen, and making a show of such business in a certain way, notified to the lieutenant on the other side of the water, that there was some special matter to be communicated. At night the lieutenant passed over in his boat from Little Compton, landed and brought it away. Through this settled correspondence, Gates learnt the next day what where the movements and talk of the enemy. After the evacuation, the general desired the lieutenant to mention what consideration would satisfy him for the dangerous service in which he had been engaged. The answer was, "I shall be fully satisfied with 1200 dollars for myself, and 2 or 300 for some others that were concerned." Such was the depreciation then, that the whole 1500 were not worth 75 hard dollars, now they are worth about 30.

Sir H. Clinton having received certain intelligence of the repulse given the combined troops in their attack on Savannah, resumed the plan of an expedition against South Carolina, which the appearance of Count d'Estaing obliged him to suspend. Every thing was prepared, and about 7000 troops were embarked, but detained till he had full assurance of the French fleet's having wholly quitted the American coast, when they sailed under the convoy of Adm. Arbuthnot, on the 26th of December. Their operations will be related in a future letter. Congress having obtained satisfactory evidence of what was in contemplation, had ordered on the 10th of November, three of the continental frigates to Charlestown for its defence.

On

\* This is the substance of what was related to me by disinterested persons at Newport and the neighbourhood, some short time after the evacuation.



On the 19th of November, they resolved that it be earnestly recommended to the several states forthwith, to enact laws for establishing and carrying into execution a general limitation of prices throughout their respective jurisdictions, on certain prescribed principles, the operation to commence from the 1st of next February—by which time the operation may be found to be impossible. They concluded on the 23d, that bills of exchange be drawn on Mr. Jay for 100,000*l.* sterling, and on Mr. Laurens for 100,000*l.* payable at six months sight, and the same to be sold at the current rate of exchange.” They after that directed the committee of foreign affairs to write to Messrs. Jay and Laurens, informing them of the drafts to be made upon them, explaining fully the reasons that urge Congress to draw, and directing them to keep up a mutual correspondence, and to afford each other every assistance in procuring money to pay the bills. A committee of seven having been appointed by Congress to wait on the minister of France, and to receive his communications, reported [Dec. 16.] the following extracts and summary of the communications—That the minister of France had it in command from his king, to impress on the minds of Congress—That the British cabinet have an almost insuperable reluctance to admit the idea of the independence of these United States, and will use every possible endeavour to prevent it ;—That they have filled several of the courts of Europe with negotiations, in order to excite them to a war against France, or to obtain succours, and are employing the most strenuous endeavours to persuade the several powers, that the United States are disposed to enter into treaties of accommodation ; that many persons in America are actually employed in bringing such treaties to perfection ; and that they have no doubt of their success :—That the objects which the British cabinet hope for from these measures are, to destroy the superiority which France has now at sea, by diverting her powers and resources from naval to land operations, and by engaging her in a land war, where she must risk very important interests, while England would risk nothing but money ; or to break or weaken the alliance by destroying the confidence, which the allies ought to have in each other :—That his Most Christian Majesty gives no credit to the suggestions of Britain relative to the dispositions of the United States, and that it is necessary that measures be taken for the preventing of other powers from being deceived into a belief of them :—That the negotiation of Britain, as far as could yet be learned, had not succeeded :—That the dispositions of all the European powers are, as far as can be known, very friendly to France, but some of them may be engaged in secret treaties

treaties with Britain, which may oblige them in some event to assist her with troops, even against their inclinations ;—That such event may arise, and if it should, it is probable it will produce an armed mediation, the consequences of which would be, that the allies must accept of the terms proposed by the mediation, or continue the war under the disadvantages of having the forces of the mediator united with those of their enemies :—That in such event, it is possible the terms proposed will be such as Spain offered, and Britain rejected on the last proposed mediation :—That though the powers, who may be under such engagements by treaties to Great Britain, from their friendly disposition toward his Most Christian Majesty, may be very unwilling to give assistance to his enemies, yet they may find it indispensably necessary in compliance with their engagements ; but it is not improbable that their reluctance, or the distance of their dominions, may delay such assistance, if granted at all, so as to be too late for the next campaign :—That should the enemy be in possession of any part of the United States at the close of the next campaign, it will be extremely difficult to Great Britain to acknowledge their independence ; and if a mediation should be offered while the enemy are in possession of any part, an impartial mediator could not easily refuse the arguments which might be used for his retaining such possessions ; and probably a mediator well disposed toward Great Britain might insist on her holding them, and if not agreed to, the hostility of such mediator would be the necessary consequence :—That should Great Britain form such alliances, or procure such aids as are the objects of her present negotiations, there will be every reason to fear a long and an obstinate war, whereof the final event may be doubtful :—That the view of affairs plainly points out, the necessity for the greatest possible vigor in the operations of the next campaign, in order to dispossess the enemy of every part of the United States, and to put them in a condition to treat of peace and accept of mediation, with the greatest advantage ; and the preparations for it ought to be as speedy and as effectual as possible :—That France and Spain are prepared to make a very powerful diversion, and will exert themselves most strenuously for preserving their naval superiority, and for employing the powers of the enemy in Europe and the West Indies. —The minister declared as from himself—That he doubted not but his Most Christian Majesty will spare some ships to the United States, if it can be done without endangering his superiority at sea, and that an application made to the minister in form is more eligible than to the king ; because it would give his majesty great pain to refuse the request, though he might be in no condition



condition to grant it :—That at all events supplies should be prepared on a supposition that the ships will be granted, and such supplies should be put into the hands of the agent for the marine of France, and be considered as the king's property.—He desires to be informed, as far as Congress deem proper, what force the United States can bring into the field the next campaign? On what resources they rely for their maintenance and necessary appointments, and what shall be the general plan of the campaign, on supposition either of having or not having the aid of ships of war?—He gives it as his opinion, that an application for clothing may be made to his Most Christian Majesty with prospect of success; and although measures have been taken for sending arms and warlike stores to America, yet it would be prudent in Congress not to neglect any other means for procuring either those supplies, or supplies of clothing.

Congress to promote œconomy in purchases of American produce, resolved on the 14th of December, to call upon the states for the necessary supplies, for which they are to be credited at equal prices for articles of the same quality and kind, and for others which they may furnish in due proportion.

I shall conclude with mentioning in a general way, that the American cruisers have continued to be very successful :—And that about the middle of September, the French plenipotentiary, in a conversation with Gen. Washington mentioned, that though Spain had been all along well disposed to the revolution, she had entered reluctantly into the war, and had not acknowledged the independence of the United States; and that France desired to engage Spain more firmly in their interests, by a *mark* of their good will to her. [The *mark* in view is the lands on the eastern side of the Mississippi; which is an affair that the general leaves to the wisdom of Congress.]

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## L E T T E R II.

Roxbury, Aug. 24, 1780.

CONGRESS resolved, [Jan. 31.] “ that the following answer be given to the communications of the minister of France—That Congress entertain the most grateful sense of the unremitting

unremitting attention given to the interests of the United States by their illustrious ally, and consider the communications made to them by his minister under his majesty's special command, as equally wise and interesting :---That the confidence which they repose in his majesty, in consequence of his so generously interesting himself in the affairs of these United States, and of the wisdom and magnanimity of his councils, determine them to give the most perfect information in their power of their resources, their views and their expectations : That to this end they state as follows---That the United States have expectations, on which they can rely with confidence, of bringing into the field next campaign an army of 25,000 effective men exclusive of commissioned officers :---That this army can be reinforced by militia, so as to be in force sufficient for any enterprise against the posts occupied by the enemy within the United States :---That supplies of provision for the army in its greatest number, can certainly be obtained within the United States, and the Congress, with the co-operation of the several states, can take effectual measures for procuring them in such manner, as that no operation will be impeded :---That provisions also for such of the forces of his Most Christian Majesty, as may be employed in conjunction or co-operation with those of the United States, can be procured under the direction of Congress ; and such provisions shall be laid up in magazines, agreeably to such instructions as his majesty's minister plenipotentiary shall give ; and the magazines shall be put under the direction of the agent of the marine of France :---That Congress rely on the contributions of the states by taxes, and on monies to be raised by internal loans for the pay of the army :---That supplies of clothing, of tents, of arms and warlike stores, must be principally obtained from foreign nations, and the United States must rely chiefly on the assistance of their ally for them ; but every other mean for procuring them is already taken, and will be prosecuted with the greatest diligence :---That the United States, with the assistance of a competent naval force, would willingly, during the next campaign, carry on the most vigorous offensive operations against the enemy in all the posts occupied by them within the United States :---That without such naval force, little more can be attempted by them, than straitening the quarters of the enemy, and covering the interior parts of the country :---That their forces must be disposed in such manner as to oppose the enemy with greatest effect, wheresoever their most considerable operations may be directed :---That at present the southern states seem to be their principal object ; and their design to establish themselves in one or more of them : but their superiority at sea  
over



over the United States, enables them to change their object and operations with great facility, while those of the United States are rendered difficult by the great extent of country they have to defend:—That Congress are happy to find that his Most Christian Majesty gives no credit to the suggestions of the British cabinet, relative to the dispositions of the United States, or any of them, to enter into treaties of accommodation with Great Britain; and with his majesty and all the powers of Europe to be assured, that such suggestions are insidious and without foundation:—That it will appear by the constitutions and other public acts of the several states, that the citizens of the United States, possessed of arms, possessed of freedom, possessed of political power to create and direct their magistrates as they think proper, are united in their determinations, to secure to themselves and their posterity the blessings of liberty, by supporting the independence of their governments, and observing their treaties and public engagements with immoveable firmness and fidelity; and the Congress assure his majesty, that should any individual in America be found base enough to show the least disposition for persuading the people to the contrary, such individual would instantly lose all power of effecting his purpose, by forfeiting the confidence and esteem of the people.

The committee appointed [Feb. 2.] to receive the communications from the minister of France, reported, that on their second conference, he communicated to them—“That his Most Christian Majesty being informed of the appointment of a minister plenipotentiary, to treat of an alliance between the United States and his Catholic Majesty, had signified to his minister plenipotentiary to these United States, that he wishes most earnestly for such an alliance, and in order to make the way thereto more easy, commanded him to communicate to Congress certain articles, which his Catholic Majesty deems of great importance to the interests of his crown, and on which it is highly necessary that these United States explain themselves with such precision and moderation as may consist with their essential rights:—That the articles are, 1. a precise and invariable boundary to the United States—2. the exclusive navigation of the river Mississippi—3. the possession of the Floridas—4. the lands on the left or eastern side of the Mississippi:—That on the 1st article it is the idea of the cabinet of Madrid, that the United States extend to the westward no further than the settlements were permitted by the royal proclamation, bearing date the      day of      1763: That on the 2d, the United States do not consider themselves as having right to navigate the river Mississippi, no territory belong-

ing to them being situate thereon: That on the 3d, it is probable the king of Spain will conquer the Floridas during the course of the present war, and in such event every cause of dispute relative thereto, between Spain and these United States, ought to be removed: That on the 4th, the lands lying on the east side of the Mississippi, whereon the settlements were prohibited by the said proclamation, are possessions of the crown of Great Britain, and proper objects against which the arms of Spain may be employed for the purpose of making a permanent conquest for the Spanish crown; that such conquest may be made probably during the present war; that therefore it would be adviseable to restrain the southern states from making any settlements or conquests in these territories: that the council of Madrid consider the United States as having no claims to these territories, either as not having had possession of them before the present war, or not having any foundation for a claim in the right of the sovereign of Great Britain, whose dominion they have abjured:—That his Most Christian Majesty, united to the Catholic King by blood, and by the strictest alliances, and united with these states in treaties of alliance, and feeling toward them dispositions of the most perfect friendship, is exceedingly desirous of conciliating between his Catholic Majesty and the United States the most happy and lasting friendship:—That the United States may repose the utmost confidence in his good will to their interests, and in the justice and liberality of his Catholic Majesty: and That he cannot deem the revolution which has set up the independence of these United States, as past all danger of unfavorable events, until his Catholic Majesty and the said states shall be established on those terms of confidence and amity, which are the objects of his Most Christian Majesty's very earnest wishes."

The information you are now entering upon, may appear singular after reading the answer of Congress to the minister of France, on the article of provision. In the middle of December, a part of General Washington's army was several days without bread; and for the rest he had not, either on the spot or within reach, a supply sufficient for four days. Reasoning back from January the 8th, and both officers and men were almost perishing through want for a fortnight. The deficiency proceeded from the absolute emptiness of the American magazines in every place, and the total want of money or credit to replenish them. So that the general was obliged to call upon the magistrates of the Jersey state; to expose his situation to them; and to declare in plain terms, that he and his army were reduced to the alternative of disbanding or catering for themselves, unless the inhabitants would afford



afford them aid. He allotted to each county a certain proportion of flour or grain, and a certain number of cattle to be delivered on certain days. To the honor of the magistrates and the good disposition of the people, be it added, that his requisitions were punctually complied with, and in many counties exceeded. Nothing but this great and patriotic exertion, which claims the particular consideration, and the warmest acknowledgements of the public, could have saved the army from dissolution or starving, as the troops were bereft of every hope from the commissaries. At one time the soldiers eat every kind of horse food but hay: buck wheat, common wheat, rye and Indian corn, formed the composition of the meal that made their bread. As an army they bore it with heroic patience: but such sufferings, accompanied with the want of clothes, blankets, &c. produced frequent desertions, though not a single mutiny.\* Would you have expected, that the Commander in Chief should have been under the necessity of inserting in general orders of January 29th—"The general is astonished and mortified, that notwithstanding the last order, the inhabitants in the vicinity of the camp are absolutely a prey to the plundering and licentious spirit of the soldiery. From daily complaints, and a formal representation of the magistrates, a night scarcely passes without gangs of soldiers going out of camp, and committing every species of robbery, depredation, and the grossest personal insults. These violences are committed on the property and persons of those, who, on a very late alarming occasion for the want of provision, manifested the warmest attachment to the army, by affording it the most generous and plentiful relief."

Congress have given the public a state of the expenditures for the last year. The sums advanced to exchange bills of the emissions of May 20, 1777, and April 11, 1778, were 15,321,897<sup>2</sup> dollars. No more than five millions are specified in their journals for each of such dates. There must therefore have been issued from their own presses more than five millions and an half beyond what was specified, or their agents who were to exchange the genuine ones, had not the means of detecting the counterfeits; the last is scarce conceivable. They have also settled a small pension on an Elizabeth Bengin, late an inhabitant of New York, who was indefatigable in relieving the American prisoners, and in facilitating their escape. The British at length suspected, or had proof of her conduct, and sent a party to secure her. She begged leave to dress herself before she was carried to the commander,

\* General Washington's letters of January and February.

mander, and withdrew to an adjoining room, from whence she made her escape to a friend, and lay secreted till an opportunity offered of quitting the city. She had a trusty waterman acting in concert with her, who in dark nights safely conveyed away by the help of muffled oars, the officers and privates whom her friendship had concealed. When she had gotten clear off, her circumstances were so distressing, that Gen. Washington hearing of it, and knowing the part she had taken, and the risk she had run, recommended her to Congress.

Sir H. Clinton's expedition to South Carolina is next to be considered. Though the fleet and convoy sailed from New York on the 26th of December, they did not arrive at Savannah till the end of January. The voyage was also very unprosperous. Through the tempestuousness of the weather, great mischief was done among the transports and victuallers. Several were lost, others damaged, and a few taken by the Americans. An ordnance ship went down with all her stores; and most of the horses, whether for draught, or appertaining to the cavalry, were lost. Various delays prevented, so that the troops did not land before the 11th of February, on the south part of John's island, about 30 miles distant from Charlestown. A week before, Gen. Lincoln had dispatched Lieut. Col. Ternant to the Havannah, with solicitations to the Spanish governor to contribute his assistance against the British. The colonel was authorized to promise 2000 men to co-operate with the Spaniards in reducing St. Augustine, if they would lend a sufficient force of ships and troops for the defence of Charlestown. The South Carolina assembly was sitting when the British landed, and directly delegated, till ten days after the next session, to Gov. Rutledge, and such of his council as he could conveniently consult, a power to do every thing necessary for the public good, except the taking away the life of a citizen without a legal trial; and then adjourned. The governor immediately ordered the militia to rendezvous. Though the necessity was great, few obeyed the pressing call. A proclamation was soon issued, requiring the militia that were regularly draughted, and all the inhabitants and owners of property in the town, to repair to the American standard, and join the garrison without delay, under pain of confiscation. This severe measure produced little effect. The country was greatly dispirited, through the repulse at Savannah the preceding October, and the high ideas which that had produced of the power of Britain; and had Sir H. Clinton pushed at once for the town, he would probably have possessed himself of it in four days after landing; but his caution put him upon proceeding by a regular attack. Previous



vious to the debarkation of his troops, he had taken care to have the harbour blocked up, so that had the Americans evacuated the place, they must have given up not only their ships, but their baggage, field artillery and stores, as they could not have procured a number of waggons sufficient for the transportation of the same. It was the wish of the inhabitants to save their capital, and they were in hopes of effecting it. Gen. Lincoln was desirous of their being gratified, and acted accordingly. Though he had then but about 1400 continentals fit for duty, including those of South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia, together with about 1000 North Carolina militia; yet as he had been assured of succours to complete his force to near 10,000, he promised himself, that when further opposition could no longer avail, an evacuation would be practicable. The apparent design of Sir Henry Clinton to risk nothing, induced him to proceed slowly. He formed a depot on James island, and erected fortifications there and on the main, opposite to the southern and western extremities of the town. On the 29th of March, his grenadiers, light troops, and two battalions of infantry, crossed Ashley river: and on the next day appeared before the American lines, and encamped about 3000 yards in front of them. The works thrown up in the spring of 1779, had been strengthened and extended; and lines of defence and redoubts continued across Charlestown neck from Cooper to Ashley river. Gen. Lincoln had early pressed upon the state, the certainty of an intended invasion, and the necessity of strenuous and timely exertions to provide against it. He ever turned out himself, not only to assist on the works, but to set an example of emulation, that no one might think it beneath him to give his assistance. This was his constant practice, going out with the foremost in the morning, and returning with the last in the evening; until the near approach of the enemy called him to other duties. In front of the lines was a strong abatis, and a wet ditch picquetted on the nearest side. Between the abatis and the lines, deep holes were dug at short distances from each other. The lines were made particularly strong on the right and left, and so constructed as to rake the wet ditch, in almost, its whole extent. In the centre a strong citadel was erected. Works were thrown up on all sides of the town where a landing was practicable. That Gen. Lincoln did not oppose the enemy's crossing the river, was owing to his not having sufficient force; his whole strength at that time amounted only to 2225, beside the sailors in the batteries. It was found upon examination, that the ships meant for the defence of Charlestown, could not be possibly so stationed as to defend the bar;

bar; and that the enemy, with a leading easterly wind and flood making in, would enter the harbour, and under full sail, pass the continental frigates lying in Five Fathom Hole. Commodore Whipple therefore, with his small fleet, consisting of the *Bricole* of 44 guns, the *Providence* and *Boston*, each of 32, the *Queen of France* of 28, *L'Avanture* and the *Trouie*, each of 26, the *Ranger* and brig *Gen. Lincoln*, each of 20, and the brig *Notre Dame* of 16 guns, abandoned the defence of the bar, and retreated to fort Moultrie. On the 20th of March, Adm. Arbuthnot, with the *Renown* of 50 guns, the *Romulus* and *Roebuck*, each of 44, the *Richmond*, *Le Blonde* and *Raleigh*, each of 32, and the *Sandwich* armed ships, crossed the bar in front of Rebellion road, and anchored in Five Fathom Hole. The American fleet retreated to Charlestown; and the crews and guns of all the vessels, except the *Ranger*, were put on shore to reinforce the batteries. An enquiry should have been made before the British fleet appeared off the harbour, whether the American ships could defend the bar, and upon the discovery of their incapability, they should have been sent away in time. When the captains and pilots, in their joint letter of February the 27th to Gen. Lincoln, assigned such incapability as a reason for their abandoning the defence of it, the resolution should have been taken to evacuate Charlestown, and to retreat into the open country, and there wait for reinforcements, without running the risk of being completely invested by the enemy.

It appeared [April 1.] that the British had broken ground in several places about 1100 yards in front of the Americans. Though the lines were no more than field works, yet Sir H. Clinton treated them with the respectful homage of three parallels, and made his advances with the greatest circumspection. By the 10th, the first parallel was completed, and directly upon it the town was summoned to surrender without effect. The same day 700 continentals, under Gen. Woodford, who had marched 500 miles in 28 days, arrived in Charlestown. But while the siege was pending, near the same number of North Carolina militia, quitted the lines and went off, the time of their service being expired. The day before the summons, Adm. Arbuthnot weighed anchor, and taking advantage of a strong southerly wind and flowing tide, passed fort Moultrie, which kept up a brisk and severe fire on the ships in their passage, and did them some damage beside killing or wounding 27 seamen. A transport ran aground, and was burnt by the crew. The royal fleet anchored within long shot of the town batteries. To prevent the ships running up Cooper river, from which they might have enfiladed the lines,  
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eleven vessels were sunk in the channel. The *Ranger* frigate and two galleys were stationed so as to co-operate with the batteries on shore, in defending these obstructions, and to attack any armed vessels that might attempt a passage through Hog-Island channel.

On the 12th the British opened their batteries, and a constant fire was kept up between both parties until the 20th, when their second parallel, within 300 yards of the American lines, was completed. But the fire of the besiegers was far superior to that of the besieged. The former had the advantage of 21 mortars and royals; the latter only of two, and by the 20th their lines had sustained great damage in many places. About the time the British opened their batteries, Gov. Rutledge took post in the country between the Cooper and the Santee rivers: a work was ordered to be thrown up on the Wando, nine miles from town, and another at the point of Lampriere's, to preserve the communication with the country by water: a post was also ordered at a ferry over the Santee, to collect and secure the boats necessary for the crossing over of the expected succours with dispatch, and for effecting a retreat with facility when requisite.

For a few moments the narrative must be retrospective. The horses destined to mount the British cavalry were lost on the passage from New York. When Lieut. Col. Tarleton was landed, he soon obtained a fresh supply; and having mounted his cavalry, joined a body of about 1000 men, who marched through the country from Savannah. On the 18th of March a detachment from his corps surprised about 80 American militia, killed and wounded several, and dispersed the remainder. Five days after, Tarleton with his legion, fell in with another small party of mounted militia, who instantly retreated; but in the pursuit three were killed, one wounded, and four taken prisoners. On the 27th he had a rencounter with Lieut. Col. Washington, at the head of his regular corps of horse. The Americans had the advantage, took seven prisoners, and drove back the cavalry of the British legion; but durst not pursue them for want of infantry. At the beginning of the siege, Gen. Lincoln ordered the 300 regular cavalry to keep the field, and the country militia were to act as infantry in their support. On various pretences the militia refused to attach themselves to the cavalry. The American body of horse, intended to cover the country, and to preserve the communication between that and the town, was surprised at Monk's Corner, [April 14.] by a strong party of British, led by Lieut. Cols. Tarleton and Webster. A negro slave, for a sum of money, conducted the British from Goose-Creek, in the night, through

through unfrequented paths. Although the commanding officer of the American cavalry had taken the precaution of having his horses saddled and bridled, and the alarm was given by his videttes, posted at the distance of a mile in front; yet, being entirely unsupported by infantry, the British advanced so rapidly, notwithstanding the opposition of the advanced guard, that they began their attack upon the main body before the men could put themselves in a posture of defence. About twenty-five were killed or taken; and they that escaped were obliged for several days to conceal themselves in the swamps. The British instantly fell down on the peninsula between the Cooper and the Santee with about 250 horse and 600 infantry. When Gen. Lincoln was informed on the 16th of what had happened, he called a council of war, who were of opinion, that the weak state of the garrison made it improper to detach a number sufficient to attack this separate corps. On the 18th Sir H. Clinton received a reinforcement of 3000 men from New York. The only practicable route of an evacuation for the Americans was to the right of the town; but the besiegers, with their reinforcement, strengthened the troops on the peninsula, and took post on Haddrell's point, which obliged the others to abandon Lampriere's. On the 20th and 21st, another council of war was held, to determine upon the measures that the interest and safety of the country called the American officers to pursue under their present circumstances. The result was—"As a retreat would be attended with many distressing inconveniences, if not altogether impracticable for the undermentioned causes, to wit,—1. the civil authority is averse to it, and intimated in council, that if attempted, they would counteract the measure:—2. it must be performed in face of the enemy, much superior, across a river three miles broad, in large ships and vessels, the moving of which must be regulated by the wind and tide:—3. could these obstacles be surmounted, we must force our way through a considerable body of the enemy, in full possession of the passes on our route to the Santee, the only road by which we can retreat:—4. supposing us arrived at that river, new and dangerous difficulties are again to be encountered, from the want of boats to cross it, with an army wasted and worn down by action, fatigue and famine, and closely pursued by the enemy—we advise therefore, that offers of capitulation, before our affairs become more critical, should be made to Gen. Clinton, which may admit of the army's withdrawing, and afford security to the persons and property of the inhabitants"—signed William Moultrie and others. The terms when proposed, were instantly rejected: but still not receded from by the proposers, as they



they had hopes of succours to open the communication, and give an opportunity of retreating. Though the rejection of the terms dispirited the garrison, yet they thought, by delaying as long as possible, the people in the neighbouring states would have an opportunity to rouse and embody. On the 23d of April, the British commenced their third parallel from 80 to 150 yards from the British lines. The next day the besieged made a sally, which was conducted by Lieut. Col. Henderson, who led out 200 men, and attacked the advanced working party of the British, killed several and took eleven prisoners. This was the only sally made by them, for their inferior numbers would not admit of their engaging repeatedly in such services. On the 26th the propriety of attempting a retreat came again before a council of officers, who were unanimously of opinion, that it was not expedient as a retreat was impracticable. While Gen. Lincoln was pressed with a variety of difficulties, the British flag was seen flying on fort Moultrie. When the royal ships had passed Sullivan's island, Col. Pinkney, with about 150 men under his command, was withdrawn from that post, to reinforce the army in Charlestown. The feeble remainder of the garrison, mostly militia, surrendered on the 6th of May to Capt. Hudson of the British navy, without firing a gun. The same day the third parallel was completed close to the edge of the American canal, and a sap carried to the dam, which contained its water on the right, by which means a great part was drained to the bottom. On that day also Col. Anthony Walton White, who had taken the command of the remains of the American cavalry after their defeat, experienced a similar disaster. He had crossed the Santee, and on that day made prisoners a small British party, that was conducted to Lanneau's ferry. He had ordered in season proper persons to collect boats, and to assemble a body of infantry at this place, to cover the American cavalry in their recrossing the Santee, which had not been carried into execution. The zeal of a new subject, who had lately submitted to the royal army, led him to give immediate notice to Lord Cornwallis of White's situation. Tarleton, with a party of horse, was dispatched to the ferry; arrived there a few minutes after the American cavalry; and instantly charged them with a superior force. From the want of boats and of infantry, a retreat was impracticable, and resistance unavailing. A rout took place. Major Call and seven others escaped on horseback, by urging their way through the advancing British cavalry. Lieut. Col. Washington, Major Jamefon, and five or six privates, saved themselves by swimming across the Santee. About 30 were killed, wounded or taken. The remainder got

off by concealing themselves in the swamps. The British prisoners, who were in a boat crossing the river, being called upon by their friends to come back, rose on their guard, and were released. On the eighth Sir H. Clinton began a correspondence with Gen. Lincoln, and repeated his former terms and summons. At this time, all the flesh-provisions of the garrison were not sufficient to furnish rations for a week. There was no prospect either of reinforcements or of supplies from the country. The engineers gave it as their opinion, that the lines could not be defended ten days longer, and that they might at any time be carried by assault in ten minutes. Gen. Lincoln was disposed to close with the terms offered, as far as they respected his army; but some demur was made in behalf of the citizens. Sir H. Clinton insisted on their being all prisoners on parole, and would promise nothing further, than that the town-property of those within the lines should not be molested by the British troops. He also evaded any determinate answer to the article which requested leave for those who did not choose to submit to the British government, to sell their estates and leave the province. It was hoped, that upon a proper representation of matters in a free conference, the generosity of the besiegers would soften their demands; the same was therefore asked by Gen. Lincoln, without his directly refusing what was offered. Contrary to the expectation of the besieged, an answer was returned, that hostilities should recommence at eight o'clock. When the hour arrived, the most vigorous onset of the besiegers was immediately expected by the garrison. But neither army fired a gun for some time. Both seemed to dread the consequences of an assault, and to wish for a continuance of the truce, and a reconsideration of the proposed articles. At nine, firing commenced from the garrison, and was kept up on both sides for several hours with unusual briskness, and did more execution than had taken place in the same length of time since the commencement of the siege. The British batteries of the third parallel, which were ready on the 6th, opened on this occasion. Shells and carcasses were thrown incessantly into almost all parts of the town; and several houses burnt. Beside the cannon and mortars which played on the garrison at a less distance than a hundred yards, rifles were fired by the Hessian chassieurs with such effect, that very few escaped who showed themselves above the lines. The British advanced [May 11.] within twenty-five yards of the same, having crossed the wet ditch by sap; and commenced their preparations for making a general assault by sea and land. The principal inhabitants of the town, and a number of the country militia, now addressed Gen. Lincoln:



Lincoln : signified to him, that the terms which Sir H. Clinton had offered, so far as they related to them, were satisfactory ; and requested his acceptance of them : the Lieut. Governor and council also desired, that the negociations might be renewed. The moment for it was come. The town militia had thrown down their arms. The citizens in general were discontented and clamorous. Many of the American cannon were dismounted, and others silenced for want of shot. All expectations of succour was at an end. No hope remained ; but what little arose from the bare possibility, that the flower of the British army on the continent, 9000 strong, flushed by their successful operations, and seconded by a naval force, might be repulsed while attempting a storm, by a garrison, worn down with hard service, and under 3000 men. Gen. Lincoln wrote to Sir H. Clinton, and offered to accept the terms before proposed to him. The British commanders, averse to the extremities of a storm, consented. The articles of capitulation were signed the next day by B. Lincoln, H. Clinton, and M. Arbuthnot. It was stipulated, that the continental troops and sailors should remain prisoners of war until exchanged ; and be supplied with good and wholesome provisions, in such quantity as is served out to the British troops. The militia were to return home as prisoners on parole ; which, as long as they observed, was to secure them from being molested in their property by the British troops. The officers of the army and navy were to keep their swords, pistols and baggage, which was not to be searched, and were to retain their servants : but their horses were not to go out of town, but might be disposed of by a person left for the purpose. The garrison, at an hour appointed, was to march out of the town, to the ground between the works of the place and the canal, where they were to deposit their arms. The drums were not to beat a British march, nor the colours to be uncased. All civil officers and citizens, who had borne arms during the siege, were to be prisoners on parole, and with respect to their property in the city, were to have the same terms as the militia ; and all other persons in the town, not described in any article, were notwithstanding to be prisoners on parole. It was left to future discussion whether or no, a twelvemonth's time should be allowed to all such as do not choose to continue under the British government, to dispose of their effects, real and personal, in the state, without any molestation whatever, or to remove such part thereof as they choose, as well as themselves and families ; and whether, during that time, they or any of them should have it in their option to reside occasionally in town or country. The French consul, the subjects

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of France and Spain, with their houses, papers, and other moveable property, were to be protected and untouched; but they were to consider themselves as prisoners on parole.

The return of the prisoners transmitted to Great Britain is swelled to upward of 5000, by comprehending every adult free-man of the town, between 2 and 3000 sailors taken from the shipping and put into the batteries, and those militia of both Carolinas that were in garrison. But the proper garrison did not amount to quite 2500 at the time of surrender. The real number of privates in the continental army was 1977, of whom 500 were in the hospitals. The captive officers were greatly out of proportion to them; and consisted of 1 major general, 6 brigadiers, 9 colonels, 14 lieutenant colonels, 15 majors, 84 captains and captain lieutenants, 84 lieutenants, 32 second lieutenants and ensigns. The commanders of the militia from the country were mostly of the first rank, and in honor repaired to the defence of the town, though they could not bring with them privates equal to their respective commands. The continental regiments were completely officered, while the adequate number of privates was greatly deficient. The supernumerary regular officers were retained in the garrison, from an apprehension that their being ordered out would have dispirited the army, and from an expectation in the early parts of the siege, that their services would be wanted to command the large reinforcements of militia that had been promised. During the 30 days siege, only 20 American soldiers deserted. The militia and sailors stationed in the batteries suffered little. Of the continentals who manned the lines, 89 were killed and 138 wounded; and of the Charlestown militia artillery stationed there, 3 were killed and 8 wounded. About 20 inhabitants were killed in their houses by random shot. Upward of 30 houses were burnt, and others greatly damaged. The total loss of the royal forces is stated at 76 killed and 189 wounded. A prodigious artillery was taken, considerably more than 400 pieces, including every sort, and those in the forts and ships.\*

The capital having surrendered, the next object with the British was to secure the general submission of the inhabitants. To this end they posted garrisons in different parts of the country, and marched a large body of troops over the Santee toward that extremity of the state, which borders on the most populous settlements

\* General Lincoln's letters and papers, and other MSS, beside Dr. Ramfay's History and different publications, have been consulted in drawing up the above account of the operations respecting Charlestown.



settlements of North Carolina. This caused an immediate retreat of some American parties who had advanced into the upper parts of South Carolina, with the expectation of relieving Charlestown. Among the corps which had come forward with that view, there was one consisting of about 300 continentals, the rear of the Virginia line, commanded by Colonel Buford. Tarleton, with about 700 horse and foot, was sent in quest of this party. Having mounted his infantry, he marched 105 miles in 54 hours, came up with them at the Waxhaws, and demanded their surrender on terms similar to those granted to the continentals at Charlestown. While the flags were passing and repassing on this business, Tarleton kept his men in motion, and when the truce was ended, had nearly surrounded his adversaries. An action [May 29.] instantly ensued. The continental party, having partaken of the general consternation occasioned by the British successes, made but a feeble resistance, and soon begged quarter. A few, however, continued to fire. The British cavalry advanced, but were not opposed by the main body of the continentals, who conceived themselves precluded by their submission. The accidental firing of the few, was an argument, however, for directing the British legion to charge those who had laid down their arms. In consequence of this order, the unresisting Americans, praying for quarters, were chopped in pieces. By Tarleton's official account of this bloody scene, 113 were killed, 150 badly wounded, unable to travel, and left on parole; and 53 made prisoners: while they made such ineffectual opposition as only to kill seven and wound twelve of the British. Lord Cornwallis bestowed on Tarleton the highest encomiums for this enterprise, and recommended him in a special manner to royal favor. *Tarleton's quarters* is become proverbial; and in subsequent battles a spirit of revenge will give a keener edge to military resentments.

Scarce had Admiral Arbuthnot's fleet, with the troops under Sir Henry Clinton, taken his departure from Sandy Hook for the reduction of Charlestown, ere an intense frost, with great falls of snow, shut up the navigation of the New York port from the sea. The encreasing severity of the weather, toward the middle of January, entirely cut off all communication with the city by water, and soon after deprived the island of New York, and the adjoining islands, of all the defensive benefits of their insular situation. The North River, with the freights and channels, by which they are divided and surrounded, were every where clothed with ice of such a strength and thickness, as would have admitted the passage of armies, with their heaviest carriages and artillery. In this situation the royal generals and officers at New York took  
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the most prudent and speedy measures for the common defence. All orders of men in the city were embodied, armed and officered, so that the whole force, including seamen, amounted to near 6000. General Washington, however, was in no condition to profit by the unlooked for event of a harder winter than was known even in that climate within the memory of man. He had weakened his army by detachments to the southward, for the relief of Charlestown. An ineffectual attempt was made indeed by Lord Stirling, with the troops under his command, upon Staten Island on the 15th of January; but as the royalists retreated to their strong holds, and the ice afforded a bridge for reinforcements from New York, his lordship retreated at night.

The distressed situation of the American Commander in Chief, may be conjectured from the following account. A more general and alarming dissatisfaction appeared in his army, than ever before in any stage of the war. About the commencement of April it wore, in particular instances, features of a very dangerous complexion; produced partly by a diversity in the terms of the men's enlistment, partly by the inequality of the rewards given for entering into the service, but mostly by the disparity in the provision made by the several states for their respective troops. The uneasiness continued increasing, from the army's receiving for a considerable time no more than a half, a quarter, or an eighth of their allowance. They bore long with the greatest patience their distress, and every thing was due to the officers for encouraging them to it, both by exhortation and example. But on the 25th of May, at night, two regiments mutinied; however, after several expostulations and exertions by the officers, they returned to their huts. A fortnight before, General Greene wrote [May 11.] to his excellency—"I have little prospect either of providing for the march of the Maryland troops to the southward, or of putting this army in motion. Many stores contracted for on advantageous terms, and which I had hopes of possessing, have since been sold at private sale for want of money to fulfil our contracts. Many engaged in the manufactory of a variety of articles, seeing but little prospect of our being able to fulfil the conditions on our part, have declined going on. A great number of waggons on which we depended for this army have been sold, and others left unfinished. All our public horses, which have been out to winter and recruit, have been nigh unto starving, and many have actually perished for want of proper supplies of forage. The stores that we have provided at Boston, Pennsylvania and elsewhere, we find ourselves unable to get forward. Numberless embarrassments lie before me, such as state laws,

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vulgar prejudices, want of money and support, as well as heavy demands against the department." The distresses of his department were the subjects of another letter ten days after, in which he said—"Private emolument has been but a secondary object with far the greatest part of the staff officers. The numbers who have been benefitted by their appointments are very small, while hundreds have suffered both in character and fortune from their employments, and are now loaded with heavy debts, without the remotest prospect of being able to pay them, and have every obstacle thrown in the way of settling their accounts, to prevent their demands being fixed." Well might another general address the Commander in Chief on the last of May, with—"Dear Sir, I am very sensible of the embarrassments and perplexities you mention in your private letter. They would, I am certain, have depressed, and perhaps subdued almost any mind but yours; and I have often thought and frequently said, that the difficulty of your situation and command gave you more intrinsic merit, than the victories others have obtained. This I doubt not history will hereafter testify to the world, when your enemies are forgotten."

General Washington, however had some consolation from the arrival of the Marquis de la Fayette at head quarters about the 12th of May. During his voyage from Boston to France he had a narrow escape, a dangerous conspiracy of the British sailors, who composed a great proportion of the Alliance's crew, having nearly succeeded. On his safe arrival, without authority to solicit assistance in troops, he, through zeal for the American United States, devoted himself to obtain it. He boldly applied for such aid, and took upon himself all consequences on each side of the Atlantic. He also assiduously employed himself in procuring loans of money and succour of every kind. When he had so far prevailed with the French court, that he could announce, in America, that he should be followed by a fleet and corps of French troops, he commenced his return to this continent. The special news he brought with him, he was only at liberty to mention to Congress and General Washington. Having communicated it to the general, he proceeded on the 13th for Philadelphia, and laid the same before Congress; who, three days after, passed a very honorable resolve concerning him, without hinting at the intelligence they had received. The people, though totally ignorant of his last services, expressed their great joy at the Marquis's return. That propriety might exist in reference to the intended aid from France, when arrived, General Washington has been appointed lieutenant general of his Most Christian Majesty's troops in America, and vice-admiral of the white flag. On Friday  
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the 19th Congress resolved, "That bills be immediately drawn on Dr. Franklin for 25,000 dollars, and on Mr. Jay for 25,000 dollars, payable at 60 days sight; and that the money be applied solely to the bringing of the army into the field, and forwarding their supplies in such a manner, as the exigency and nature of the service may require."

This day has been rendered very remarkable by an extraordinary phænomenon, which demands a particular relation. An unusual darkness came on between the hours of ten and eleven in the morning, and continued to increase. Your friend, having been accustomed to dark days at London, and frequently observed from his study, the bright shining sun gradually, and at length, totally eclipsed as it descended behind the thick vapor which hung over the city, regarded it with no special attention till called to do it by his neighbours, who were much alarmed. He dined by candle-light about one. After that it grew much lighter; and he walked about five o'clock to a tavern, a mile distant on the road to Boston, to meet a select committee of Roxbury on special business. When they had finished about eight at night, he set out for home, not suspecting but that, being fully acquainted with every foot of the road, he should easily return notwithstanding its being extremely dark.

There were houses all the way, though at a considerable distance from each other. He marked the candle-light of one, and with that in his eye went forward till he got up to it; but remarked that the appearance of the place was so different from what was usual, that he could not have believed it to be what it was, had it not been from his certain knowledge of its situation. He caught the light of a second house which he also reached; and thus on. At length the light being removed from the last he had gained a sight of, ere he was up with it, he found himself in such profound darkness as to be incapable of proceeding, and therefore returned to the house he had passed, and procured a lantern. Several of the company having farther to go were on horseback. The horses could not see to direct themselves; and by the manner in which they took up and put down their feet on the plain ground, appeared to be involved in total darkness, and to be afraid lest the next step should plunge them into an abyss. The gentlemen soon stopt at another tavern, and waited for the benefit of the moon: but after a while finding that the air received no accession of light from it, when they were certain it was risen, they had recourse to candles to assist them in getting home. In some instances horses felt the forcible operation of the darkness so strongly, that they could not be compelled by  
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their masters to quit the stable at night when wanted for particular service. The shifting of the wind put an end to it, and at midnight it was succeeded by a bright moon and star light. The degree to which it arose was different in different places. In most parts of the country it was so great in the day-time, that the people could not tell the hour by either watch or clock, nor dine, nor manage their domestic business without the light of candles. The birds having sung their evening songs disappeared, and were silent: pigeons and fowls retired to roost: the cocks crew as at day-break; objects could not be distinguished but at a very little distance; and every thing bore the appearance and gloom of night. The extent of this darkness was extraordinary. It was observed as far east as Falmouth. To the westward it reached to the furthest part of Connecticut, and to Albany. To the southward, it was observed along the sea coasts; and to the north as far as the American settlements extend. We are told that a vessel at sea found herself enclosed for a while in a cloud of this darkness, and as she sailed, passed instantly from the verge of it into a clear light.

This phenomenon appears to have been owing to the clouds being highly charged with smoke, which they had been collecting for days, from the fires in the back country. It is the American custom to make large fires in the woods, for the purpose of clearing the lands in the new settlements. This was practised in the spring of the present year, in a much greater degree than usual, through the interruption that had been given to that business for a few years by the war. In the county of York, in the western parts of New Hampshire and Massachusetts, and in Vermont, uncommonly large fires had been kept up to the extent of many score miles, all round the frontiers. Thus the people in the new towns had been employed for two or three weeks: beside, some large and extensive fires had raged in the woods for several days before they could be extinguished. The weather being clear, the air weighty, and the winds small and variable for several days; the smoke, instead of dispersing, rose and constantly collected in the air, till the atmosphere was loaded with such an uncommon quantity of it, as proved in combination with other vapors the parent of the preceding darkness.\*

Let us proceed to our military narrative.

Eleven days [June 6.] previous to Sir Henry Clinton's arrival at New York from Charlestown, the Generals Knyphausen,

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Robertson,

\* See Memoirs, of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, vol. i. p. 234. Boston printed, 1785.

Robertson, Tryon and Sterling, passed over by night, with 5000 men, from Staten Island to Elizabeth-town Point. Colonel Dayton, who commanded some militia, hearing that they were coming in force, went and reconnoitred, and placed a guard of twelve men in advance, whom he ordered to oppose the enemy as long as they could, and then retire. Sterling being the youngest general, commanded the advanced corps, and was fired upon and wounded in the knee by the twelve, shortly after the debarkation: this, however occasioned no long delay. The royal troops entered Elizabeth-town [June 7.] very early in the morning; where they observed strict discipline and great decorum. They then advanced to Connecticut Farms about five miles distant. In this neighbourhood lived the Rev. Mr. James Caldwell, the Presbyterian minister of Elizabeth-town. The active part he had taken in support of the American cause, and his successful influence in spiriting up the Jersey people to oppose the British forces, rendered him an object of their keenest resentment, and made it insecure for him to reside in his own town. Upon the news of the enemy's advancing, he withdrew from his present habitation; and supposing that it might be done with safety, left his wife and children behind. Mrs. Caldwell, however, was afterward fearful of slaying, lest there should be firing in the street, till Col. Dayton advised her to continue, as he should not suffer it in his troops, which would prevent the danger of it from the enemy. He accordingly marched the militia from the Farms, on to a pass leading to Springfield, of which he possessed himself. Soon after, the royal forces arrived in the neighbourhood of the Farms, when a soldier came to the house, and putting his gun to the window of the room where Mrs. Caldwell was sitting, (with her children, and a maid with an infant in her arms along side of her) fired, and shot her instantly dead. The body, at the earnest request of an officer of the new levies, was, with some difficulty, suffered to be carried to a small house at a distance, before Mr. Caldwell's dwelling was set on fire and consumed, together with every thing belonging to him. The enemy burnt about a dozen other houses, and the Presbyterian meeting, and then marched toward Springfield. Colonel Dayton, with the militia that joined the few taken with him, fought them for a while at the pass he had occupied. On their approaching the bridge near the town, they found a small body of continental troops under General Maxwell, and a number of militia hastily collected within a few hours, posted at the place: they therefore halted, and continued on the same ground till night, when the design of attacking Springfield was given up, and they returned to Elizabeth-town in a degree of confusion.



No sooner had intelligence of their excursion reached Morris-town, than a detachment of the American army was ordered to Springfield: this, however, when joined to the force already there, would have been no wise equal to the royal army. The whole number of continentals did not exceed two thousand five hundred men. It was thought by the Americans, that the enemy's intentions, when they came out, were to drive General Washington from Morris-town, and to spread desolation through that part of the country. General Greene, considering the strength of the enemy and the weakness of the continental army, was desirous that the Commander in Chief would change his position, under the plea of marching to guard the heights of the North river, on the assumed supposition, that the real design of the enemy was against them, and that Knyphausen's attack was only meant as a feint: but the sudden return of the latter to Elizabeth-town, rendered the measure for the present unnecessary. The murder of Mrs. Caldwell may be viewed as the act of a single soldier; but the burning of houses must be placed to the account of the commanding officers. These events excited such an enthusiastic rage, that the militia turned out with remarkable spirit, and did themselves great honor. The Commander in Chief, in his subsequent general orders, highly commended the behaviour of the militia and all the corps concerned in opposing Knyphausen, and said—"Colonel Dayton merits particular thanks." The enemy had been told, before they entered on the trial, that should they march 5000 men into Jersey, the inhabitants, dispirited to the utmost on account of the misfortune at the southward, would submit without resistance, and that the soldiery of the continental army would desert to them on every occasion. This army, without suffering by desertions, would not have been able to have kept the field, but for the assistance of the Jersey militia. Its weakness was occasioned by the numbers who had left it when their enlistment was out; by its not having been joined by a single draught, nor received two hundred recruits from all the states east of Maryland; and by the troops that had been sent on for the protection of the Carolinas. It received no other reinforcements but militia, till after the destruction of Springfield.

The royal forces remained at Elizabeth-town. Sir H. Clinton on his arrival at New York, determined to improve on the original design, and to afford them an opportunity of acting with effect, for this purpose troops were embarked, and such preparations made, as indicated an immediate expedition up the North River. Upon this, General Washington, to be ready in case of any real design against West Point, or other strong holds in the Highlands,

Highlands, marched with the greatest part of the army toward Pompton on the 21st, leaving about 700 men with the horse under the command of General Greene. His march was so slow (as he meant not to increase his distance from Greene beyond what was necessary) that he was only about eleven miles from Morris-town the next day. In the afternoon Greene sent off an express to him with this note—"June 22d, Springfield, 5 o'clock. —Mr. — this moment returned from Elizabeth-town, says, that the British army will be in motion this evening. The gentleman is to meet the British at the West Farms this evening a little back of Newark. He left the enemy at three o'clock this afternoon, and appears to be in great trepidation." It was in a few hours followed by a second—"10 o'clock. I have been impatiently waiting in consequence of the intelligence from M. P——l. He says he is employed by your excellency. May not the enemy be apprized of his being a double spy, and endeavour to play him off accordingly?" The third put General Washington out of all further suspense—"23d, 6 o'clock. The enemy are out on their march toward this place in full force, having received a considerable reinforcement last night." When it got to hand, his excellency ordered a part of his troops to return and support Greene; but the action was over, and the enemy retreated, before it could reach him.

The royal army advanced from Elizabeth-town about 5 in the morning. Their march was rapid and compact, and in two columns, one on the main road leading to Springfield, the other on the Vauxhall-road. The American troops were necessarily so extended, that General Greene had scarce time to collect them at Springfield, and make the necessary dispositions, ere the enemy appeared before the town, when a cannonade commenced on each side. They continued manœuvring in Greene's front for upwards of two hours. He disposed of the troops in the best manner he could, to guard his flanks, secure a retreat, and oppose the advance of their columns. Colonel Angell, with his regiment, and several small detachments, and one piece of artillery, was posted to secure the bridge in front of the town. Col. Shrieve's regiment was drawn up at the second bridge, to cover the retreat of those posted at the first. Major Lee, with his dragoons and the picquets, were posted at Little-bridge on the Vauxhall-road, and Col. Ogden was detached to support them. The remainder of Generals Maxwell's and Stark's brigade were drawn up on high grounds. The militia were on the flanks. While the enemy were making appearances of operation on their left, their right column advanced on Major Lee. The bridge was disputed with  
great



great obstinacy; but the enemy, by fording the river, and gaining the point of a hill, obliged the Major, with his party, to give up the pass. At this, instant, their left column began the attack on Colonel Angell: the action was severe, and lasted about forty minutes, when superior numbers overcame obstinate bravery, and forced the Americans to retire over the second bridge, where the enemy were warmly received by Colonel Shrieve's regiment; but as they advanced in great force, with a large train of artillery, he had orders to join the brigade. Greene would have made a detachment in time for the support of Angell, but was in expectation that the royalists would ford the river, the dangerous consequence of which was to be guarded against. The advantages they had now gained, made it adviseable for Gen. Greene to take post with his troops upon a range of hills, where the roads are brought so near to a point, that succour can readily be given from one to the other. Being thus commodiously posted, the general hoped that they would have attempted to gain the heights; but they declined it, and began firing the town. Near fifty dwelling houses were burnt, and the whole village, excepting four houses, was reduced to ashes. This conflagration closed the enterprise. The strength of Greene's situation, the difficulties of the approach, an ignorance of his real force, and the bold defence made at the bridge, might severally concur in preventing all further attempt to penetrate through the intervening hills and defiles, that they might gain possession of Morris-town, and destroy the American stores, magazines and defences there and in the neighbourhood, which appears to have been their first object. They made a second retreat from Springfield, being pursued with great spirit and redoubled animosity by the militia (who were highly enraged at the conflagration that they had just beheld) till they entered Elizabeth-town, which was about sun-set. They passed on to Elizabeth-town Point, where they continued until twelve at night, and then began to cross to Staten Island; by six the next morning they had totally evacuated the point, and removed their bridge. They suffered considerably on the 23d, but Greene's loss was trifling, not more than twenty killed, and about sixty wounded. The American Commander in Chief, in general orders of the 26th, returned his warmest thanks to General Greene and all the officers, for the good conduct and gallantry they had displayed; and took particular notice of Colonel Angell and his regiment.

When Congress had received information from the Marquis de la Fayette, of the preparation his Most Christian Majesty was making to aid the United States with a powerful naval and military

tary force; they appointed a committee to write to the different governments, requiring them to fill up the continental army and forward supplies, in order to a readiness for co-operating with the expected assistance. The Commander in Chief and other popular officers, joined in stimulating them by every motive, to furnish speedily their respective quotas. The disgrace of appearing contemptible in the eyes of their great ally, and the mischief which must be the consequence, were strongly urged. The people were passionately called upon, not to suffer the curse of another campaign to rest upon America. They were told that the eyes of all Europe were upon them; and that their future independence, fortune and happiness depended upon their present exertion. Notwithstanding these joint efforts, General Washington had to complain—"It is with infinite chagrin and mortification, I find that at this day, the fourth of July, more than six weeks since the first application to the states for the succour necessary for the intended co-operation, not more than thirty levies have, to my knowledge, joined any part of the army: nor have I any information what has been effected in this respect by any one of the states. Some of them have not even informed me what they intend to do." The Massachusetts general court had indeed ordered, by their resolves of June the 5th and 23d, a reinforcement to be sent on, but it had not arrived. A voluntary subscription was likewise begun about the beginning of the same month in Philadelphia, for the raising of a fund of hard money, to be given as bounties to fill up the full quota of the Pennsylvania line. The general assembly of that state had, on the first of June, provided for those exigencies in war, that might require sudden and extraordinary exertions, by resolving unanimously, that during the recess of the house, should it be necessary, the president (Joseph Reed, Esq; whose name has often occurred) or vice president in council, be empowered to declare martial law for the public security, and the safety of the citizens of that commonwealth. A bank was also established for supplying the army with provisions; and a number of gentlemen engaged to support it with 189,000l. sterling, payable in gold and silver, according to the sum against which each subscribed his name on the 17th. But the American daughters of liberty in Philadelphia, were desirous of sharing with the gentlemen in the splendors of patriotism. They had long aspired to the honor of giving the continental army some public mark of the esteem they entertained of their virtue: they therefore concluded upon forming an association. To this end "*The sentiments of an American Woman*" were published in the Gazette of the 12th, and the day following several ladies assembled. It was proposed to divide the  
city



city into ten districts, nearly equal in extent, and to invite three or four ladies in each to go to every house in their ward, and to present to each woman and girl, without any distinction, a subscription paper meant to procure donations. Forty ladies were invited, who undertook the task assigned them with pleasure, considering it as a great honor. The day following the invitation, they set out on foot, observing to keep exactly to their own ward. As the cause of their visit was known, they were received with all the respect due to their commission : in the mean time the offering intended for the soldiers was presented to them. They did not omit a single house : the collection they made was considerable ; but has been much increased by donations from ladies in the country. It is expected that their example will be more or less followed in other states.

For the honor of the Pennsylvania state, you must be furnished with the preamble and parts of an act passed the 1st of last March, in the following words—" When we contemplate our abhorrence of the condition, to which the arms and tyranny of Great Britain were exerted to reduce us—when we look back on the variety of dangers to which we have been exposed, and how miraculously our wants, in many instances have been supplied, and our deliverances wrought, when even hope and human fortitude have become unequal to the conflict—we are unavoidably led to a serious and grateful sense of the manifold blessings which we have undeservedly received from the hand of that Being, from whom every good and perfect gift cometh. Impressed with these ideas, we conceive that it is our duty, and we rejoice that it is in our power, to extend a portion of that freedom to others, which hath been extended to us ; and a release from that state of thralldom, to which we ourselves were tyrannically doomed, and from which we have now every prospect of being delivered. It is not for us to enquire why, in the creation of mankind, the inhabitants of the several parts of the earth were distinguished by a difference in feature or complexion. It is sufficient to know, that all are the work of an Almighty hand. We find in the distribution of the human species, that the most fertile as well as the most barren parts of the earth, are inhabited by men of complexions different from ours, and from each other ; from whence we may reasonably as well as religiously, infer, that he who placed them in their various situations, hath extended equally his care and protection to all, and that it becometh not us to counteract his mercies. We esteem it a peculiar blessing granted to us, that we are enabled in this day to add one more step to universal civilization, by removing, as much as possible, the sorrows of  
those

those who have lived in undeserved bondage, and from which, by the assumed authority of the kings of Great Britain, no effectual, legal relief could be obtained. Weaned by a long course of experience from those narrow prejudices and partialities we had imbibed, we find our hearts enlarged with kindness and benevolence toward men of all conditions and nations: and we conceive ourselves, at this particular period, extraordinarily called upon, by the blessings which we have received, to manifest the sincerity of our profession, and to give a substantial proof of our gratitude."

"And whereas the condition of those persons, who have heretofore been denominated negro and mulatto slaves, has been attended with circumstances which not only deprived them of the common blessings that they were by nature entitled to, but has cast them into the deepest afflictions, by an unnatural separation and sale of husband and wife from each other, and from their children,—an injury, the greatness of which can only be conceived by supposing that we were in the same unhappy case:—In justice, therefore, to persons so unhappily circumstanced, and who, having no prospect before them whereon they may rest their sorrows and hopes, have no reasonable inducement to render their service to society, which otherwise might; and also in grateful commemoration of our own happy deliverance from that state of unconditional submission, to which we were doomed by the tyranny of Britain—Be it enacted, that no child born hereafter shall be a slave—that negro and mulatto children shall be servants only till twenty-eight years of age—that all slaves shall be registered before the 1st of November next—that negroes, &c. shall be tried like other inhabitants—that none shall be deemed slaves but those registered—that slaves carried away, &c. from this state, may be brought back and registered—and that no negroes or mulattoes, other than infants, shall be bound for longer than seven years."

The expected succour from France arrived at length in the evening of Monday, July the 10th, at Rhode Island. The chevalier de Ternay commands the fleet, consisting of two ships of 80 guns, one of 74, four of 64, two frigates of 40, a cutter of 20, an hospital ship, pierced for 64, a bomb ship and 32 transports. The land forces consist of four old regiments, beside the legion de Lauzun, and a battalion of artillery\*, amounting to about 6000 men,

\* The list is given from the Providence paper of July, published the week after their arrival at Newport; and differs from the English publications, which mention in the list one 84 and two 74 gun ships, five frigates and two armed ships.



men, under the command of Lieutenant General Count de Rochambeau. The inhabitants of Newport illuminated the town upon the occasion. General Heath was present to receive the troops upon their landing, and to put them into possession of the forts and batteries upon the island. On the 24th, a committee from the general assembly of the state, then sitting in the town, waited on the Count with a complimentary address. Rochambeau declared in his answer, that he only brought over the vanguard of a much greater force destined for their aid; and that he was ordered by the king to assure them, that his whole power should be exerted for their support. "The French troops," he said, "are under the strictest discipline; and, acting under the orders of General Washington, will live with the Americans as their brethren. I am highly sensible of the marks of respect shown me by the general assembly, and beg leave to assure them, that as brethren, not only my life, but the lives of the troops under my command, are entirely devoted to their service." The French admiral was complimented in like manner. Four days before, the American Commander in Chief strongly recommended to the officers of the continental army, in general orders, the wearing of black and white cockades (the ground being of the first colour, and the relief of the second) as a compliment to, and a symbol of friendship and affection for their allies. The Marquis de la Fayette arrived at Newport from head quarters, the same day that the addresses were presented to the French commanders; and undoubtedly carried with him the sentiments of Gen. Washington on the movements then making on the part of the British. Though Admiral Arbuthnot had only four sail of the line at New York, on the 10th July, he was within a very few days so strengthened by the arrival of Admiral Greaves, with six ships of the line from Great Britain, that he had no longer any apprehensions of an attack from the French squadron. The British commanders had indeed so decided a superiority of force, that they lost no time in preparing to act offensively, both by sea and land. Sir H. Clinton embarked about 8000 men, and proceeded to Huntington Bay in Long Island, mean while the militia from Massachusetts and Connecticut were ordered to Rhode Island; so that the French regretted his stopping short, and declined to pay them a visit, as they were well prepared to give him a warm reception. At the same time General Washington designed availing himself of Sir Henry's absence, by attacking New York. He had received considerable reinforcements, and suddenly crossed the North River and marched toward Kings-bridge. Sir Henry perceiving what was intended, dropped his expedition to Rhode-Island, and sailed

for New York on the 31st, after having lain several days in Huntington Bay. General Washington proposed to General Arnold his having a command in the designed attack on New York. The proposal threw him into no small confusion; but Washington had no suspicions raised by it, for though he thought him mercenary, he had not the least idea of his being wanting in fidelity. Arnold afterward made his objections to some of Washington's suite, and urged his being lame as disqualifying him for activity in field duty. The objections being reported to the Commander in Chief, Arnold was ordered to proceed to West Point, and take the command of that post and its dependencies.

We must now attend to an event, which could not be related in chronological order without disturbing the preceding narrative. General Washington being informed, that there was a considerable number of cattle and horses on Bergen Neck, detached Gen. Wayne, on the 20th of July, with the 1st and 2d Pennsylvania brigade, four pieces of artillery, and Col. Moyland's regiment of dragoons to bring them off. He contemplated also the destruction of a block-house, which gave security to a body of refugees, who committed depredations on the well affected inhabitants for miles round. Wayne having provided against the enemy's intercepting his retreat, and sent down the cavalry to drive off the flock, proceeded to the block-house, which was surrounded with an abatis and stockade. He tried the effects of his field pieces; but found them too light to penetrate the logs. The troops being galled the mean while, by a constant fire from the loop holes of the house, and seeing no chance of making a breach with the cannon, two regiments rushed through the abatis to the foot of the stockade, with a view of forcing an entrance, which was impracticable. This intemperate valor occasioned the loss of 3 officers wounded, 15 non-commissioned and privates killed, and 46 non-commissioned and privates wounded. The flock in the mean time was driven off.

Let us now turn our eyes to South Carolina and its neighbourhood: where the British troops spread themselves, and plundered by system, forming a general flock, and appointing commissaries of captures. Spoil thus collected was disposed of for the benefit of the royal army. The quantity brought to market was so great, that though it sold uncommonly low, yet the dividend of a Major General was upward of 4000 British guineas. The private plunder of individuals, on their separate account, was often more than their proportion of the public flock. Over and above what was sold in Carolina, several vessels were sent abroad to market, loaded with rich spoil taken from the inhabitants. Upward



ward of two thousand negroes were shipped off at one embarkation.

When Charlestown had surrendered, the next object with the British was to secure the general submission of the inhabitants. To this end they posted garrisons in different parts of the country, and marched a large body of troops over the Santee toward that extremity of the state, which borders on the most populous settlements of North Carolina. This caused an immediate retreat of some American parties, that had advanced into the upper parts of South Carolina, with the expectation of relieving Charlestown. The total rout or capture of all the southern continental troops in the state, together with the universal panic occasioned by the surrender of the capital, suspended, for about six weeks, all military opposition to the progress of the British army.

Sir Henry Clinton, a week before the defeat of Colonel Balford by Tarleton, had, in a proclamation, denounced vengeance against those of the inhabitants, who should continue, by force of arms, to oppose the re-establishment of British government. On the 1st of June, he and Admiral Arbuthnot, as commissioners for restoring peace to the revolted colonies, offered, by proclamation, to the inhabitants, with a few exceptions, pardon for past offences, and a reinstatement in the possession of all the rights and immunities they had heretofore enjoyed under a free British government, *exempt from taxation, except by their own legislature*, as soon as the situation of the province would admit. These offers, in the present situation of affairs, induced the people in the country to abandon all schemes of further resistance. The militia to the southward of Charlestown sent in a flag to the British commanding officer at Beaufort, and obtained terms similar to those granted to the inhabitants of the capital. At Camden the inhabitants met the British with a flag, and negotiated for themselves. The people of Ninety Six assembled to deliberate what course they should take. Being informed that the British were advancing, they sent a flag to the commanding officer, from whom they learned, that Sir Henry Clinton had delegated full powers to Captain Richard Pearis to treat with them. Articles were proposed and soon after ratified, by which they were promised the same security for their persons and property which British subjects enjoyed. They submitted under a mistaken opinion, that agreeable to a proclamation previous to the surrender of Charlestown, they were to be either neutrals or prisoners on parole. Excepting the extremities of the state bordering on North Carolina, the inhabitants continuing in the country preferred submission to resistance.

Sir Henry Clinton, about the time that Charlestown surrendered, received intelligence, that a large number of land forces and a French fleet, commanded by M. de Ternay, might soon be expected on the American coast. This induced him to reembark for New York early in June, with the greatest part of his army, which otherwise was to have remained, and been employed in the conquest of the adjacent states. But before he sailed, all the inhabitants of the province, and prisoners upon parole, and not in the military line (excepting those taken by capitulation, or in confinement at the surrender of Charlestown) were, by proclamation of June the 3d, freed from all such paroles from and after the 20th of the month; and in case of their afterward neglecting to return to their allegiance and his majesty's government, were to be considered as enemies and rebels to the same, and to be treated accordingly. It was designed, by this arbitrary change of their relative condition, to oblige them, without their consent, to take an *active part* in settling and securing the royal government. Prior to this proclamation, the submission of the South Carolina inhabitants was accepted on easy terms. All, with a few exceptions, on applying, obtained either paroles as prisoners, or protections as British subjects: the latter were required to subscribe a declaration of their allegiance to the king; this, however, was frequently omitted in the hurry of business. An unusual calm followed. But the proclamation produced astonishment and confusion; especially as the parties referred to were required to enrol themselves as militia under the royal standard. Numbers, considering themselves as released from their parole by the proclamation, conceived that they had a right to arm against the British; and were induced so to do, from the very menace used against them, that they who did not enrol themselves as British subjects, must expect to be treated as enemies. Many more, however, for convenience, exchanged their paroles for protections, and enrolled themselves as militia; several undoubtedly with an intention of breaking through the compulsory tie, as soon as a proper opportunity presented.

When Sir H. Clinton departed from Charlestown, Lord Cornwallis was left in command with about 4000 men, who were deemed fully sufficient for extending the British conquests, after the adoption of the above measures to oblige the inhabitants of the country to be active in securing the royal government now established. On the 5th, two days before he sailed, two hundred and ten of the principal inhabitants, congratulated him and the admiral upon their successes. The greater part of them had been in arms against the British during the siege, and a few had been leaders



leaders in the popular government. In answer to their address, they were promised the privileges and protection of British subjects, on subscribing a test of their allegiance, and willingness to support the royal cause. Many of their fellow citizens soon followed their example of exchanging paroles for protections. Those who owned estates in the country, had no security by capitulation for any property out of the lines, unless they became subjects. Such as declined doing it met with every discouragement. A numerous class of people were reduced to the alternative of starving or suing for protection. Traders and shopkeepers, after having contracted large debts, by purchasing of the British merchants who came with the conquering army, were precluded by Lord Cornwallis's proclamation of July the 25th, from selling the goods they had purchased, unless they assumed the name and character of British subjects. Thus were multitudes pressed into a service, which they were ready to desert upon every occasion. But its triumphant state made the royalists, in both Carolinas, confident of British protection, and greatly increased them by accessions from those who alway side with the strongest. A large body of them collected under the command of Col. Moore in North Carolina, on the 22d of June. The greatest part had taken the oath of allegiance to that state, and many had done militia duty in the American service. Their premature insurrection, contrary to Lord Cornwallis's advice to his friends, which was to remain inactive till he had advanced into their settlements, subjected them to an immediate dispersion. Gen. Rutherford instantly marched against these insurgents, but was so short of lead that he could arm only 300 men. Col. Lock advanced with this detachment twenty-five miles ahead to observe them, while the main body halted for a supply of ammunition. The colonel, though greatly inferior in force, was reduced to the necessity of attacking or being attacked. He chose the former; and Capt. Falls, with a party of horse, rushed into the middle of the royalists, and threw them into confusion. Twenty-two of the wig militia were killed or wounded: among the former were six of their officers, who were singled out by riflemen among the insurgents. The captain was one of the slain. Col. Moore proposed to Col. Lock a cessation of all hostilities for an hour, which being agreed to, the former ran off with his whole party. Scarce was this insurrection quelled, ere another party of North Carolina royalists under Col. Brian, marched down on the east side of the Yadkin, and joined the British army at Camden.

As the British advanced to the upper part of South Carolina, a considerable number of the determined friends of independence retreated

retreated before them, and took refuge in North Carolina. In this class was Col. Sumpter, who formerly commanded a continental regiment, and was known to possess a great share of bravery and other military talents. Soon after he had left his home, a British detachment turned his wife and family out of doors, and burned his house and every thing in it. A party of South Carolina exiles, who had convened in North Carolina, made choice of him for a leader. At the head of this little band of patriots, he soon returned to his own state, and took the field against the victorious British, at a time when the inhabitants had generally abandoned the idea of supporting their own independence. Col. Sumpter had every difficulty to encounter. His followers were in a great measure unfurnished with arms and ammunition, and had no magazines from which they could draw a supply. The iron tools on the neighbouring farms, were worked up for their use by common blacksmiths into rude weapons of war. They supplied themselves with bullets, by melting the pewter with which they were furnished by private housekeepers. When the colonel at the head of these volunteers penetrated into his own state, and re-commenced a military opposition to the British, after it had been suspended about six weeks; all the indignant passions of the royal officers were roused against the inhabitants. Without taking any share of the blame to themselves, for their mistaken policy in constraining men to an involuntary submission, they charged them with studied duplicity and treachery, and laid aside lenient measures for those that were dictated by revenge. They were further irritated, by a suspicion that the inhabitants connived at, if not facilitated the escape of deserters who were become numerous. An apprehension of that kind wrought so upon Lord Rawdon, that he threatened [July 1.] to punish either by whipping, imprisonment, or transportation to the West Indies, there to serve his majesty, any person who should meet a soldier straggling without a written pass beyond the picquets, and not do his utmost to secure him; or who should shelter such straggling soldiers, serve them as a guide, or furnish them with any other assistance. To encourage the country people in putting a stop to desertions, he promised to give them ten guineas for the head of any deserter belonging to the volunteers of Ireland, and five guineas only if they brought him in alive; and a reward, though not to that amount, for such deserters as they might procure belonging to any other regiment.

Col. Sumpter having taken the field, a party of his corps [July 12.] consisting of 133 men, engaged a detachment of the British troops, and a large body of tories, commanded by Capt.

Huck,



Huck, in the upper parts of South Carolina. The royalists were posted in a lane, both ends of which were entered at the same time by the Americans. They were speedily routed and dispersed. Col. Fergusson of the British militia, Capt. Huck, and several others were killed. This was the first advantage gained over the royal forces since their landing in the beginning of the year. At the moment the attack was made, a number of women were on their knees vainly soliciting Capt. Huck in behalf of their families and property. During his command, he in a very particular manner displayed his enmity to the presbyterians, by burning the library and dwelling-house of their clergymen, and all bibles containing the Scotch translation of the psalms, which is held in the highest veneration by the generality of the Scotch and Irish presbyterians, and their descendants, through the United States. These proceedings inspired the numerous devout people of the district with an unusual animation. They generally arranged themselves under Col. Sumpter, and opposed the British with the enthusiasm of men called upon to defend, not only their civil liberties but their holy religion. The effects of this ardor were very sensibly felt, for the colonel was soon reinforced to the number of 600 men.

No sooner did Gen. Gates hear of the commencement of Sir H. Clinton's operations to the southward, but he wrote in the beginning of March to Mr. Matthews, a South Carolina delegate at Congress,—“From the arrival of Sir H. Clinton and Lord Cornwallis in the Savannah, and their landing the army upon the Carolina side of the river, it can be no longer doubted, that it has been resolved at St. James's, to remove the theatre of the war to the southern states.” He then pointed out as the measures to be immediately taken—the sending all the troops raised west of the Delaware, instantly by the water route to James river, and marching them directly cross North Carolina to meet the enemy. Mr. Matthews received the letter on the 13th of March just as he was going to the house: when there, he stated the contents of it as a matter of information and not of opinion, with a view of attracting more effectually the attention of Congress. He then took the liberty of proposing the plan of operations for the southern campaign agreeable to Gates's ideas. The proposal was not duly regarded; and it was not till afterward that the resolution was taken to send forward the Maryland and Delaware lines. These amounted, only to 1400 effective men. They marched from head quarters at Morris-town on the 16th of April, under the command of Baron de Kalb, embarked at the Head of Elk in May, landed soon at Petersburg in Virginia,  
and

and from thence proceeded by land toward South Carolina. Virginia made great and effectual exertions to expedite their movements : but in North Carolina little or no preparations were made for supporting the troops or transporting their baggage. The baron was under the necessity of halting on Deep River the 6th of July. He received frequent assurances of support ; but found no resources except in making frequent detachments for collecting provisions, which were inadequate to the necessities of the troops, who subsisted principally upon lean cattle collected in the woods. The commissaries and quarter masters complained, that the want of cash and of credit were insuperable obstacles to the discharge of their duty.

Upon Gen. Lincoln's being made prisoner at Charlestown, the forces of the southern district devolved on Baron de Kalb. His experience and abilities were allowed to be great ; but as he was a foreigner, unacquainted with the country, and unaccustomed to the temper of undisciplined troops, who were to constitute the major part of the army, these and other reasons wrought in favor of Gen. Gates, who was considered in common as the best qualified for the command ; and it was unanimously resolved in Congress on the 13th of June, " that Major Gen. Gates do immediately repair to and take the command of the southern department : " the next day he was empowered to take such measures for the defence of the southern states as he might think most proper. He received the resolves of Congress at Traveller's Rest in Virginia, a few miles from Shepherd's-Town, on the 20th, and set out on Monday the 26th. He soon felt for himself, finding that he succeeded to the command, of an army without strength, of a military chest without money, of a department apparently deficient in public spirit, and in a climate that increased despondency, instead of animating the soldier's arm. He had before him the most unpromising prospect his eyes ever beheld. He arrived at the camp on the 25th of July ; and at a review of the troops the next day, was in every respect received by the Baron with marks of the greatest distinction. In return he treated his predecessor with due consideration, confirmed his standing orders, and requested that he would keep the command of his division as formerly in the grand army. The Baron's division consisted of all the Maryland and Delaware troops : these with a small legionary corps under Col. Armand, consisting of about 60 horse and as many foot soldiers, who arrived a few days before, and three companies of artillery, constituted the whole of the army. The Baron with great satisfaction complied with Gates's request. A considerable body of North Carolina militia had



had taken the field under Gen. Caswell. His appointment and instructions to join and co-operate with the regular forces had been announced to the Baron, who daily expected his arrival, and with him a considerable supply of provisions. Caswell however, upon the plea of preventing some disaffected inhabitants from taking arms in favor of the enemy, excused his not complying with the instructions; and as to the supply though promised, no part of it ever arrived. On the morning of July the 27th, Gen. Gates marched at the head of the army, to effect a junction of the regular and irregular forces, to assume an appearance of hostile views upon the enemy's advanced posts, and in expectation of sharing with the militia the supplies they received from the state. The troops passed Deep-River at the Buffalo-ford, and encamped in the afternoon at Spinks's farm on the road to Camden.

Here we shall leave them till time and future operations yield us the materials for proceeding in the history of the southern department. However we must not quit North Carolina without mentioning, that Mr. Justice Pendleton stated to lord Cornwallis, in a letter dated Newbern, July 20, the reasons that urged him to leave Charlestown without the permission of the commandant, lest the same should be represented as a breach of his parole, and of course infamous and dishonorable. The letter relates, that the morning of the day the justice left the town, he was informed, that the preceding night a party had assembled together to take him out of his house, and put him to death; and that it would certainly have been affected, had not a British officer, Capt. Constable, prevailed on them to consider further of the matter. To show his utmost reliance on his lordship's honor, he says in it—"I will immediately return to my parole in Charlestown, if I obtain your promise that no farther injury or insult shall be offered me. I require no other security." He then adds—"There are many English officers, my lord, that have intelligent and generous spirits, that know it is impossible to fix any immutable standard of opinion in politics, any more than religion; and therefore not impossible that a very upright and virtuous man may be a member of Congress, governor, judge, &c. notwithstanding the common epithet of rebel so freely bestowed on them. Such men (it is no matter which side their principles lead them to embrace) behold human misery in every shape, or from whatever cause derived, with pity and concern, and by compassion and politeness endeavour to soften and mitigate it: but the malignity and virulence of Scotch (with some few exceptions) and American refugee officers (with none at all) whether in a civil or military line, is

singularly conspicuous throughout this war, and cannot be described but in terms offensive to the pen of a gentleman."

The proceedings of Congress must now again engage our attention.

The grand council of the American states called upon each, in February, for specific supplies of provision and forage. But before these could be brought in, such advantage was taken of the public wants, that the nominal debt of the continent was encreased beyond calculation. Depreciation was rapid. The enemy took courage, and set every engine to work, by counterfeiting and multiplying their base emissions; to decry the credit of the paper currency. Congress, to baffle their designs and curb intestine avarice, resolved on the 18th of March, to call in by taxes in the course of one year, and to burn all the paper bills heretofore emitted to the amount of 200 million of dollars, and in lieu thereof, to issue ten millions of new money, which was to be issued as fast and no faster than the old was brought in. For every 20 dollars of the old, one dollar of the new emission was to be perfected, and lodged in the continental loan offices in the respective states. These new bills were to be redeemable in specie, within six years after the present, and to bear an interest at the rate of 5 per cent. to be paid also in specie at the redemption of the bills, or at the election of the owner annually, in sterling bills of exchange on the American commissioners in Europe, at four shillings and sixpence per dollar. The new bills were to issue on funds of individual states, established for the purpose. As the said bills were completed, the states respectively on whose funds they issued were to receive six-tenths of them, and the remainder was to be subject to the orders of the United States, and credited to the states on whose funds they issued. These bills were to be receivable in the payment of the monthly quotas or taxes of each state, at the same rate with specie, or of one Spanish milled dollar, in lieu of forty dollars of the old bills still in circulation. By this political contrivance of Congress, various effects were produced. The value of the new bills was to be really double to that of the old. The last were estimated at forty for a specie dollar, the first at par with specie: thus ten millions of new were equivalent to 400 millions of the old. The several states had a bait held out to them to induce their adoption of the plan; in that each was to receive six-tenths of the new for its own use, while the remaining four were subject to the orders of Congress. Those who had amassed large quantities of the old, were disappointed in their hopes of converting it into specie, dollar for dollar; notwithstanding all the fine and expressive language in the circular letter of Congress the last September,



September, strongly tending to encourage such hopes. The real injustice of subjecting all the inhabitants to the redemption of the old paper in specie at par, when the generality of the holders received it at a considerable depreciation, and when a large quantity of it was not circulated in the first instance but in a depreciated condition, was so apparent; that the avoidance of it by the resolution of Congress produced no convulsion, though there was a violation of public faith. Many suffering individuals complained loudly, but the measure was peaceably adopted. Congress have also fixed the value of certificates given for money loaned from September 1777 to March 1780, so rating the value of the continental paper between those two periods, as that the lender might receive the value of what was lent, and the public not be loaded with a debt for which it had not an equivalent. On the 20th of March, they resolved upon recommending it to the states, to revise their laws, making the continental bills a tender for the discharge of debts and contracts, and to amend the same so as shall be judged most conducive to justice in the present state of the paper currency.

A few particulars that chiefly respect the Massachusetts and New Hampshire states remain to be related.

When the Hampshire house of assembly (about sixty representatives being present) debated at Exeter in what way to raise their quota of men, a certain mode was proposed. About a dozen voted for it; however, no persons voting against it when called upon, the act of the former was declared to be a vote, and the measure established. But in case of its proving disgustful to their constituents, almost every member of the house could say, that he did not vote for it, which would pass with the inattentive for a sufficient apology.

The towns and districts of the Massachusetts, by the direction of the general court, made choice of delegates for the sole purpose of settling a constitution for the commonwealth, who met in convention at Cambridge on the 1st of September, 1779, and continued by adjournments to the 2d of last March: when, having agreed upon a form of government, they submitted it to the revision of their constituents, in order to the completing of the same at a session to be held at Boston for that purpose, on the first Wednesday of the following June. Copies were ordered to be sent to the selectmen of each town, and the committees of each plantation, to be laid before their respective inhabitants. If the major part of them, when legally assembled on the business, disapproved of any particular clause, they were to state their objections distinctly, with the reasons. The same were to be transmitted to the secretary

tary of the convention, together with the number of voters in the said town and plantation meetings, on each side of every question; that so the convention, at the adjournment, might collect the general sense of their constituents on the several parts of the proposed constitution. If their did not appear to be two-thirds of their constituents in favor of it, the convention were to alter it so as that it might be agreeable to the sentiments of two-thirds of the voters through the state. It was also recommended to the inhabitants to empower their delegates, at the next session, to agree upon a time when the form of government should take place, without returning the same again to the people; *provided*, that two-thirds of the male inhabitants of the age of twenty-one years and upward, voting in the several meetings, agreed to the same, or the convention conformed it to the sentiments of two-thirds of their constituents. When the convention met on the 7th of June as proposed, they agreed upon the last Wednesday of October, the 25th, for the commencement of the new form of government; as it appeared upon examination, that more than two-thirds of the voters approved of it. Directions have been given for the election of governor, lieut. governor, &c. according to the mode prescribed by it against that memorable day. The constitution consists of two parts—a declaration of rights—and the frame of government. Upon reading it, you will probably pronounce it equal, if not superior to any upon the continent.

Notwithstanding all the anxieties and avocations attending the war wherein they were engaged, the Massachusetts general court passed an act [May 4.] to incorporate and establish a society for the cultivation and promotion of the arts and sciences, by the name of—THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES. The number of the said academy, who are inhabitants of the state, are not to be at any time more than two hundred, nor less than forty. A bill to the like purpose was brought into the house in a former session; but the names of the gentlemen inserted being unintentionally arranged by the persons draughting it, so as seemingly to give pre-eminence to another before Mr. Hancock, the last declared in the house against having any concern in it, and it fell to the ground: but an alphabetical arrangement in the new one removing the umbrage, the same passed into an act.

June 7, the court agreed upon raising 3934 men for the continental army for six months; and on the 22d, 4726 more for three months, and the men were to be paid in gold or silver, or bills equivalent thereto. The selectmen of the several towns were ordered to collect shirts, shoes, stockings, &c. and subjected to penalties



penalties in case of non-compliance. They were also directed to draught and procure men. But notwithstanding these promising exertions, the general court will not have furnished Gen. Washington by the beginning of August with men sufficient to make good the state deficiency; for by his returns of the 23d, 5117 were wanting to complete the Massachusetts battalions. That they might furnish the provisions required by Congress, they determined [June 19.] to borrow hard money upon the estates, or the parts of estates of absentees, wherewith to make the purchases; and on the same day resolved, that in case the monthly supplies of beef and grain agreed upon, could not be procured by purchase, the same should be impressed. It was high time for something effectual to be done: for the Massachusetts and New Hampshire lines at and about West Point, though but a handful of men, had, at times, been many days without bread, on others without meat, and a long while on half allowance; and the officers in the same condition with the privates, having no money to purchase necessaries. New York, though consuming at both ends, and bleeding at every pore, had her compliment of continental troops in the field; beside having raised in the month of May 800 new levies to guard the frontiers. On the 21st of that month, Sir John Johnston made his appearance at Johnston-hall. He and his party the next day burnt about 33 houses and out-houses, together with a mill; destroyed cattle and sheep; and killed about a dozen persons. After digging up his plate, he marched off. While New York was thus suffering, and still exerting herself, several of her sister states that were in full and peaceable possession of their territories, seemingly slept in security, and had not a third of their quota of men in the field.

The American cruisers have been sending in occasionally valuable prizes to different ports; and the people of Boston particularly have been lately in high spirits, having heard within this fortnight, that nineteen ships of a very rich outward-bound Quebec fleet were captured, and that the privateers were in pursuit of the remainder. Several of them will undoubtedly be brought safe into one or other of the states.\*

## LETTER

\* About fourteen were brought in.

## L E T T E R III.

FRIEND G.

*Rotterdam, Aug. 26, 1780.*

**H**IS British Majesty [Nov. 25, 1779.] went to the house of peers, and opened the session of parliament. The royal speech was totally silent with respect to America and the West Indies: but filled the present, one of the most dangerous confederacies that ever was formed against the crown and people of Great Britain. It recommended to the lords and commons the consideration of what further advantages might be extended to the kingdom of Ireland, by such regulations as may effectually promote the interests of all the British dominions. The necessity of the recommendation was evident from what had already happened upon the meeting of the Irish parliament in October. The further proceedings of the people of Ireland discovered a determination to secure to themselves substantial benefits from a crisis so peculiarly favorable to the views of the patriotic party. The associators being jealous, that if the supplies were granted as usual for two years, a sudden prorogation of parliament would put an end to all hope of amicable address for the present, called out for a short money bill of six months only, and it became the general cry of Ireland. The representatives at length found, that it was indispensably requisite for them to comply, and the short money bill was accordingly passed. A necessity equally convincing, secured the passage of that humiliating and mortifying act in Great Britain on the 17th of December. Six days after, the king gave his assent to a bill for granting a free trade to Ireland. The golden opportunity admitting of it, the people of that kingdom have proceeded so far as absolutely to deny the right of the British parliament to bind that country in any case whatever.

Government received advice on the 18th of December, that the fort of St. Ferdinando de Omoa, the key to the Bay of Honduras, had been taken about the 20th of October, by the troops under the command of Capt. William Dalrymple, who had been sent by the governor of Jamaica to the Musquito shore. The men by the help of ladders scaled the walls, though 28 feet high, and thus made themselves masters of the fort. Two register ships, with the cargoes of other vessels of note, worth three millions of dollars, were also taken. All was gained with the loss only of about 20 killed and wounded on the British side, and very few more on the side of the Spaniards.

Intelligence



Intelligence having been transmitted to the British administration, [by some, it is thought, whose duty bound them to keep the secrets of the Dutch councils] that a number of Dutch ships, laden with timber and naval stores for the French service, in order to escape the danger of British cruisers, accompanied count Byland, who was to escort a convoy to the Mediterranean, Capt. Fielding was sent out with a proper force to examine the convoy, and to seize any vessels containing those articles, which the British deemed contraband. On the meeting of the fleets, Capt. Fielding desired permission to visit the merchant ships; being refused, he dispatched his boats for that purpose, which were fired at: the captain then fired a shot ahead of the Dutch admiral, who answered it by a broadside. Count Byland having received another in return, and being in no condition to pursue the contest further, immediately struck his colours. Most of the ships which occasioned the contest, had already, through the length and darkness of the night, and by keeping in with the shore, escaped the danger, and proceeded without interruption to the French ports. The few that remained with naval stores on board were stopped; and the Dutch admiral was then informed, that he might hoist his colours and prosecute his voyage: he did the first, but declined the other, and accompanied the British squadron to Spithead the fourth of January; where he remained till he received fresh instructions from his masters.

The right (whether supported by actual treaties or not) which the British claimed and exercised over the vessels of foreign powers, though not at war with them, when they suspected or found that they were laden either with naval stores, and bound to the ports of their enemies, or with the property of the latter, suggested the idea of an armed neutrality. One of the diplomatic body assured my friend at Paris, that the sagacious king of Sweden communicated the first hint of it to count Panin, with whom it slept for some time before it was mentioned to the emperors of Russia. At length it was matured; and on the 26th of February, the court of Petersburg issued a manifesto or declaration, which has been the mean of forming, under the name of *an armed neutrality*, a naval and military alliance and confederacy between Russia and other neutral powers. The great principle of the piece, and of the confederacy to which it has given birth, is, that *free bottoms make free goods*; and is thus particularized—  
 “Neutral ships shall enjoy a free navigation even from port to port, and on the coasts of the belligerent powers:—All effects belonging to the subjects of the said belligerent powers shall be looked upon as free, on board such neutral ships, except only  
 such

such goods as are stipulated contraband :—In order to determine what characterizes a port blocked up [into which neutral ships are not to have free ingress] that denomination shall not be granted, but to such places, before which there are actually a number of enemy's ships stationed near enough, so as to make its entry dangerous." Great Britain is not in a situation directly to contravene this grand principle, so that it will probably be henceforth settled as a part of the law of nations, in many respects essentially differing from what has, for several hundred years, been established among commercial kingdoms.

The courts of France and Spain have expressed the utmost approbation of the Russian system contained in the empress's declaration, so exactly calculated, and immediately suited to their own views. The court of London being obliged to suppress her indignation at an injury, which she was neither able to resent nor remedy, worded the answer to the declaration, sent to the British envoy at Petersburg on the 13th of April, with the greatest caution, and promised to "redress every hardship that may happen, in so equitable a manner, that her Imperial Majesty shall be perfectly satisfied, and acknowledge a like spirit of justice which she herself possesses." On the 3d of April, Prince Gallitzin, the Russian envoy extraordinary at the Hague, remitted to the president of the States General a memorial with the copy of the declaration, inviting their High Mightinesses to accede to an armed neutrality, and acquainting them, that the like invitation had been given to the courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm and Lisbon. But the court of London determined upon adopting special measures, in order to prevent the accession of the republic to the confederacy, and to induce her to afford the succours that had been demanded : an order of the king in council was therefore published on the 17th. It relates, that though their High Mightinesses had been strongly called upon by a memorial of the 21st of March, to grant the succours stipulated by treaty, they had not signified any intention of complying. The non-performance of the stipulated engagements is pronounced a desertion of the alliance subsisting between the two countries; and it is thence declared, that upon every principle of wisdom and justice, the republic must be considered on the same footing with other neutral states not privileged by treaty. The order therefore suspends, provisionally and till further orders, all the particular stipulations respecting the subjects of the States General, contained in the several treaties now subsisting. The publication did not produce the desired effects. The different provinces, after continued deliberations, were unanimously of opinion, that it was  
necessary



necessary for their High Mightinesses to excuse themselves from furnishing the succours claimed by Great Britain; that convoys should be granted to protect effectually all trading ships bearing the flag of the republic, whatever may be their cargoes, excepting only such goods as are properly expressed in the treaties to be contraband; and that the invitation of the empress of Russia should be accepted with gratitude. They highly resent in general the violence committed upon their convoy by Captain Fielding, in the execution of his orders, and the condemnation of the ships and cargoes carried by him into the British ports.

Different transactions now demand our notice.

A convoy of about 26 ships sailed from Marseilles for the West Indies under the care of the *Aurora*. Between 8 and 9 in the morning on the 18th of December, they were discovered by the *Preston*, being between Martinico and St. Lucia: upon her making the signal for a fleet, the British ships in Gros Illet Bay slipped their cables by order of Sir Hyde Parker and chased. Before four in the afternoon, about ten of the convoy run themselves on shore, and were set on fire by the men of war's boats. The next morning the *Boreas* was engaged with the French frigate in Fort Royal bay. On that, Mr. de la Motte Piquet suddenly slipped his cables, put out to sea with three ships, bore down upon and obliged the *Boreas* to sheer off. By this dexterous manœuvre he saved the *Aurora* and some of the merchant ships. The French admiral then hauled his wind in good time, and kept plying for the road, which he gained. The British, however, had captured nine sail, beside those they burnt. Within a few days after they took three French frigates of 42, 36 and 28 guns, on their passage from St. Vincent's to Martinico. On the 20th of March, as the French admiral was convoying a number of merchant ships, with four ships of the line and a frigate, he fell in with Captain Cornwallis off Monti Christi, whom he chased and came up with in the evening. He maintained a running fight with the British ships, of 64, 50 and 44 guns during the whole night. The next morning a general engagement took place, which lasted between two and three hours. The French suffered so that they were obliged to lie by and repair. They then renewed the chase, and continued it during the night. But the appearance of the *Ruby* man of war of 64 guns, with two British frigates, the following day, changed the face of affairs. The French were now chased in turn for several hours, as they declined coming to action. They were superior in the size of their ships, and the weight and number of their guns; but as the British had a ship more, the

admiral would not risk the loss of any of his convoy, by renewing the engagement.

Sir George Rodney was appointed to the chief command in the West Indies; and had orders to proceed in his way thither, with a strong squadron to the relief of Gibraltar; which had been so closely blockaded by the Spaniards ever since the commencement of hostilities between them and the British, that the garrison was reduced to considerable distress, as well with respect to provisions, as to military and garrison stores. After being a few days at sea, he fell in with a considerable convoy, bound from St. Sebastian to Cadiz, consisting of 15 sail of merchantmen, under the guard of a 64 gun ship, 4 frigates from 26 to 32 guns, and two smaller armed vessels. The whole fleet [Jan 8.] was taken. The capture was exceedingly fortunate, much the greater part of the vessels being laden with wheat, flour and other provision, the remainder with bale goods and naval stores. The Admiral sent the former to Gibraltar, the latter to Great Britain. About a week after, [16.] he fell in with a Spanish Squadron of eleven ships of the line under Don Juan Langara, off Cape St. Vincent. The enemy being much inferior in force, endeavoured to avoid an engagement. On that Sir George threw out the signal for a general chase, with orders to engage as the ships came up by rotation, taking at the same time the lee gage, to prevent the enemy's retreat into their own ports. The engagement was begun by the headmost ships about four o'clock in the evening: their fire was returned by the Spaniards with great spirit and resolution. The night was dark, tempestuous and dismal, and the fleet being nearly involved among the shoals of St. Lucar, rendered the aspect more terrible. Early in the action, the Spanish ship San Domingo, of 70 guns and 600 men, blew up, and all on board perished. The action and pursuit continued till two in the morning, when the headmost of the enemy's line struck to Sir George. The Spanish Admiral's ship of 80 guns, with three of 70, were taken and carried safely into port. The San Julian of 70, commanded by the Marquis de Medina, was taken; the officers were shifted, and a lieutenant with 70 British seamen put on board; but by running on shore the victors became prisoners. Another ship of the same force was also taken, and afterward totally lost by running upon the breakers. Two more escaped greatly damaged, and two less so into Cadiz.

The Spanish admiral behaved with the greatest gallantry. He was himself sorely wounded; and before he struck to Captain Macbride, his ship the Phoenix was nearly a wreck. A malignant kind of small pox prevailing on board the Bienfaisant, Capt.

Macbride,



Macbride, that humane and brave officer, disdaining to convey infection even to an enemy, and perhaps considering the peculiar terror with which it is regarded by the Spaniards, and the general ill aspect it bears to that people, acquainted Don Langara with the circumstance and his own feelings on the subject; and at the same time offered (that so the danger which would attend shifting the prisoners might be prevented) to trust to the admiral's honor, that neither his officers nor men, amounting to above seven hundred, should, in case of separation or otherwise, in any degree interrupt the British seamen sent on board, whether with respect to navigating the ship, or defending her against whatever enemy. The proposal was thankfully embraced, and the conditions strictly adhered to by the Spanish admiral; for though there was no other ship but the *Bienfaisant* in sight, and though the sea and weather were exceedingly rough, his people gave every assistance in resisting the *Phoenix*, and in navigating her to the Bay of Gibraltar.

Sir George having executed his commission at Gibraltar, proceeded about the middle of February to the West Indies, leaving the bulk of the fleet, together with the Spanish prizes, on their way to Great Britain, under the conduct of Admiral Digby. The returning fleet fell in with a considerable French convoy, most of which escaped, only the *Prothee* of 64 guns and two or three vessels laden with military stores being taken.

The Spanish governor of Louisiana, Don Bernardo de Galvez, having succeeded in his expedition against the British settlements and forces on the Mississippi, extended his views and concerted a plan with the governor of the Havannah, in pursuance of which he was to be reinforced early in the present year, by a considerable embarkation from that place. De Galvez, concluding that the expected force was on its passage, embarked all the force he could raise, and proceeded on his expedition under the convoy of some small frigates and other armed vessels. After a continued struggle with adverse and stormy weather, and other impediments for near a month, six ships ran upon a sand bank in the channel of the Bay of Mobile, three of which were lost though the crews were saved. The commander had the further mortification, on reviewing his troops, to find, that there were about 800 who had been shipwrecked and had saved only their persons. The greatest part of the whole were naked, and much of the provision, ammunition and artillery, was lost. The Spaniards bore their misfortunes with patience; and instead of shrinking under discouragements, endeavoured to convert their loss into a benefit, by breaking up their wrecked vessels, and framing  
out

out of them ladders and other machines necessary for an escalade. Those who had preserved their arms, divided them with such as had none, so as to make them the most useful; and they that still remained unarmed, undertook the laborious service of the army. De Galvez had no reason to repent his perseverance. He was strengthened by the arrival of four armed vessels from the Havannah, with a part of the regiment of Navarre on board. This arrival, with a quantity of artillery, stores, and various necessaries, afforded a sudden renovation of vigor and life to every thing. The former troops were speedily reembarked, and after a fresh encounter with new storms, difficulties and dangers, the whole were landed [Feb. 25.] within three leagues of Mobile. Mr. Durnford, a captain of engineers and lieutenant governor of West Florida, commanded the poor garrison, amounting to 284, including regulars, royalists, artillery men, seamen, 54 inhabitants, and 51 armed negroes. On the 12th of March the Spaniards opened their battery, consisting of eight 18, and one 24 pounder. By sun set the garrison hung out a white flag; the capitulation, however, was not signed till the 14th in the morning, when they surrendered prisoners of war. The surrender appeared inevitable, but was attended with circumstances exceedingly vexatious to the British. General Campbell had marched from Pensacola, (as the Spaniards say) with 1100 regulars and some artillery for their relief, and was accompanied by some Indians. The van of Campbell's force was at no great distance from the Spanish camp, when the fort was capitulating; and the Spaniards used the utmost precaution and expedition, in taking possession of and covering themselves with the works, that they might be secured against an attack. De Galvez boasted, that the British forces in the field and garrison were superior in number to his own; and scrupled not to declare openly, that with the smallest activity and vigor in their works, the garrison might have made good their defence until the arrival of the succour. But it seems as though the lieutenant governor had not, from the beginning, the smallest idea of any attempt being made for the relief of the place; and accordingly, on the appearance of the enemy, he considered its loss as a matter of course, and inevitable necessity.

Sir George Rodney arrived at Gros Islet Bay on the 27th of March. The French admiral de Guichen, having put to sea from Martinico with a fleet of 23 sail of the line and a 50 gun ship, Sir George speedily pursued him with 20 ships of the line and the Centurion. The French were brought to action [April 17.] by some of his headmost ships, a little before one o'clock: and about the same hour, he himself, in the Sandwich of 90 guns, commenced



commenced the action in the centre. After beating three ships out of the line, he was at length encountered alone by Mr. de Guichen in the Couronne of the same force, supported by his two seconds. The Sandwich sustained the unequal combat for an hour and a half, when the French commander, with his seconds, bore away, whereby the French line of battle was totally broke in the centre. The great distance of the British van and rear from their own centre, and the crippled condition of several of their ships, and the particularly dangerous state of the Sandwich, rendered an immediate pursuit impossible. The French took shelter under Guadaloupe, and Sir George his station off Fort Royal. In his public letter he spoke of de Guichen as a brave and gallant officer, and as having the honor of being nobly supported during the whole action; but commended none of the British officers, except those of the Sandwich; though it appears from his list, that while the Sandwich had 18 killed and 51 wounded, the Cornwall, Capt. Edwards, had 21 killed and 49 wounded; the Trident, Captain Molloy, had 14 killed and 26 wounded; and the Conqueror, Admiral Rowley's ship, Captain Watson, had 13 killed and 36 wounded: Captain St. John of the Intrepid, and three of his lieutenants, were killed, out of seven belonging to said ship. Sir George kept his station for some time, and then returned to St. Lucia. On receiving fresh intelligence of de Guichen's approach to the windward of Martinico, he put to sea and got sight of his fleet the 10th of May. The French had it constantly in their power to bring on an engagement, and as constantly avoided it: but in the course of their manœuvring they had nearly been entangled, and were saved from a close and general action only by a critical shift of the wind; and even with that aid, and all the sails they could carry, their rear was not entirely preserved from conflict about seven in the evening of the 15th. After this they took care to keep at a greater distance. The vigorous efforts of Sir George so involved the fleets on the 19th, that the French, for the preservation of their rear, were under the necessity of hazarding a partial engagement, by which, having extricated their rear, they bore away with all the sail they could possibly press, and got into Martinico. Sir George sent three of his fleet to St. Lucia, and stood, with the remainder, toward Barbadoes.

Before the Christmas recess of parliament, the Duke of Richmond made a speech on the necessity of practising the most rigid œconomy, in order to extricate the country from its many difficulties; which was followed by a motion for an address to his majesty, representing that a considerable reduction of his civil list would be an example well becoming his paternal affection for his people,

people, and his own dignity. The motion was rejected by a majority of more than two to one. This was followed some days after, by a successful motion of Lord Shelburne, the purport of which was, to consider of the appointment of a committee for inquiring into the several parts of the public expenditure, as also of the reductions or savings that could be made with consistency. In the house of commons Mr. Burke proposed a plan of œconomy and reform; and gave notice of his intending to bring it shortly before them, as a business that was become indispensable. Schemes of œconomy and reform were highly adapted to the prevailing taste of the nation as was soon apparent; for during the recess of parliament, the business of public meetings, of petitions to the house of commons, and of associations for the redress of grievances, was commenced. The adoption of these means for procuring a reform in the executive departments of the state soon became very general; and the minds of the public being agitated and warmed by these meetings, the views of many persons of no mean weight and consequence were extended still further. They gradually began to consider, that nothing less than shortening the duration of parliament, and the obtaining a more equal representation of the people, could reach to a perfect cure of the present, and afford an effectual preservative against the return of similar evils.

The large, populous and opulent county of York, led the way and set the example to the rest of the kingdom. A very numerous and respectable meeting of the gentlemen, clergy and freeholders, including persons of the first consideration and property, was held at the city of York on the 30th of last December. Their petition to the house of commons was unanimously agreed upon: and accompanied with a resolution, that a committee of sixty-one gentlemen be appointed, to carry on the necessary correspondence for effectually promoting the object of the petition; and likewise to prepare a plan of an association, on legal and constitutional grounds, to support a laudable reform, and such other measures as may conduce to restore the freedom of parliament.

Jan. 7. The counties of Middlesex and Hants stood forth as the seconds of Yorkshire; and adopted similar measures. The example was soon followed by the county palatine of Chester; and in a close succession of time, by the counties of Herts, Suffex, Huntingdon, Surrey, Cumberland, Bedford, Essex, Somerset, Gloucester, Wilts, Dorset Devon, Norfolk, Berks, Bucks, Nottingham, Kent, Northumberland, Suffolk, Hereford, Cambridge and Derby. The Welsh counties of Denbigh, Flint and Brecknock, likewise petitioned, as did the cities of London, Westminster,



ster, York, Bristol, Gloucester, and Hereford, with the towns of Nottingham, Reading, Cambridge, Bridgewater, and Newcastle upon Tyne. Northamptonshire declined petitioning, but voted resolutions and instructions to their representatives, including the purport of the petitions. The measure of forming committees and entering into associations, was a great stumbling block in some of the counties, and was omitted by several. The members of administration and men in office, were not wholly deficient in their endeavours to prevent the county meetings: but they were generally overborne by the torrent.

Feb. 8. The Yorkshire petition, subscribed by upward of eight thousand freeholders, was the first presented. Sir George Saville introduced it, and in his speech said—"It was first moved in a meeting of six hundred gentlemen and upward. In the hall where that petition was conceived, there was more property than in the walls of this house" of commons. The freeholders comprised within the compass of that single hall, possessed landed property to the amount of eight hundred thousand pounds sterling a year. The house of commons [April 6.] took into consideration the petitions of the people of England and Wales, amounting to about forty, and signed by above a hundred thousand electors. Mr. Dunning opened the business in an accurate and weighty speech, and then moved—"That the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." The Lord Advocate of Scotland, to obtain a negative, moved an amendment in the following words—"That it is now necessary to declare;" the proposition readily agreed to it, and the question thus amended was carried by a majority of 18—233 to 215. Mr. Dunning then moved a second proposition—"That it is competent to this house to examine into, and to correct abuses in the expenditure of the civil list revenues, as well as in every other branch of the public revenue, whenever it shall seem expedient to the wisdom of this house so to do; which was carried without a division. Mr. Thomas Pitt then moved the following resolution—"That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is the duty of this house to provide, as far as may be, an immediate and effectual redress of the abuses complained of in the petitions presented to this house, from the different counties, cities and towns in this kingdom;" which was carried in the affirmative without any apparent dissent.

The house, which had been in a committee, being resumed, Mr. Fox moved that the resolutions should be immediately reported. This was opposed by the minister with all the force he retained; but the stream was too strong to be resisted. The resolutions

resolutions were severally reported and received, agreed to and confirmed by the house without a division. Such was the complete and decisive victory gained by the opposition, in behalf of the petitions on that extraordinary and memorable day. Without doors, the joy and triumph in most parts of England was great and general; and perhaps would scarcely have been exceeded on occasion of the completest victory over a foreign enemy.

April 24. A motion of Mr. Dunning's which had been postponed was taken up. It was for an address to his majesty, requesting that he would not dissolve the parliament, nor prorogue the present session, until proper measures should be taken by that house, to diminish the influence of the crown, and to correct the other evils complained of in the petitions of the people. After great and long debates the motion was rejected by a majority of 51—254 to 203. Thus all hopes of obtaining any redress for the people in that house, was at an end. But though the *freemen* of England could obtain no relief from their burdens by a house of representatives; the *non-freemen* of France were relieved by their grand monarch, who issued several edicts for the better administration of his finances, and for the suppression of divers places and offices.

The committee in London for raising and applying monies for the relief of the American prisoners, began in March to call upon the public afresh for new subscriptions; as the war continued beyond expectation: the same was readily made. Many individuals exhibited a compassion and liberality to the Americans, that does honor to human nature.

On the 28th of April, Don Joseph Solano sailed from Cadiz with 12 ships of the line and several frigates, and convoyed a fleet of 83 transports, having eight regiments of Spanish infantry, of two battalions each, and a considerable train of artillery on board: the whole land force, including 100 engineers, amounted to 11,460 effective men. They are to join the French in the West Indies; and in that case will bring the British fleets and islands into the most imminent danger. Jamaica is generally supposed to be the first and principal object.

In the beginning of June, the cities of London and Westminster were convulsed from end to end, by some of the most extraordinary risings that ever happened. When the law for relieving the English Roman Catholics was passed in May 1778, a number of persons in Scotland, actuated by a mistaken zeal, associated for the preservation of the Protestant religion; and called themselves a *Protestant Association*, at the head of which was a Lord George Gordon. The associators became so formidable, that the Scotch

papists



papists were greatly alarmed, and begged that the laws relating to them might not be altered. The success which had attended the association in North Britain, might give the hint for forming a similar one in London, to those whose jealousy for the Protestant interest was increased by the apparent growth of Popery, which of late years had been esteemed very considerable. A society accordingly was formed in the metropolis, which in a few months gathered great consequence from the numbers that professed their adherence to the cause it supported; and Lord George Gordon was elected president. The first object of the association, after a committee had been chosen, was to draw up and present a petition to the house of commons, requesting a repeal of the above law. The petition was publicly advertised to be signed by all who approved of it. The alarm which the act gave, had reached various parts of the kingdom, and similar petitions came from many of them, most of which were presented to the house by Lord George. The associators met [May 29.] at Coachmaker's hall, when the president addressed them for half an hour. His speech was received with the loudest acclamations, on which his lordship moved the following resolution—"That the whole body of the Protestant Association do attend in St. George's-fields, on Friday next at ten o'clock in the morning, to accompany his lordship to the house of commons, on the delivery of the Protestant petition; which was carried unanimously. His lordship then informed them, that if he was attended by less than 20,000 men on the appointed day, he would not present their petition. He also directed that they should be formed in four divisions, three of which were to answer to their belonging either to London, to Westminster or Southwark, the fourth was to be composed wholly of his own countrymen the Scotch, resident in London and its environs. To prevent mistakes, the whole were to be distinguished by blue cockades.

June 2. The grand divisions of the associators being drawn by different routes from the rendezvous, filled the ways through which they marched in ranks, with a multitude that excited wonder and alarm. When arrived at the place of destination, they occupied the streets and avenues to both houses, and soon began to compel the members to cry out—"no popery," to wear blue cockades, and some to promise their assistance for the repeal of the new popery act, as they called it. Upon the appearance of the prelates and court lords, their violence increased to the highest pitch; and several of them were treated with the greatest indignities: the lives of two were in imminent danger. It is impossible to describe the astonishment, sense of degradation, horror

and dismay, which prevailed in both houses. Mean while Lord George Gordon having obtained leave to bring up the petition, afterward moved for its being taken into consideration. This brought on a debate, and the associators being in possession of the lobby, the commons were kept confined for several hours before they could divide on the question. The arrival of the magistrates and guards having removed the impediment, it was rejected by a majority of 106 to six only. Before the rising of the house, several parties filed off, and proceeded to the demolition of the insides of the chapels belonging to the Sardinian and Bavarian ministers. The commons adjourned to the 6th; but the lords met on the following day, and agreed on an address, requesting the king to give immediate orders for prosecuting the authors and abettors of the outrages. On the 4th the mob assembled in and about Moorfields, and repeated their outrages on a Romish chapel and school in the neighbourhood. The military were present, having been sent for; but the lord mayor, through timidity, would neither order them to act, nor venture to interfere with the civil power that attended him. Toward the evening of the next day, different parties collected and attacked various houses. Between twelve and one o'clock at night, a large body assembled before Sir George Saville's house, and after breaking all the windows, stripped it of the most valuable furniture, which they burnt before the door. They dispersed on the arrival of a party of horse.

June 6. About two hundred members had the courage to make their way into the house, through the vast crowds that filled the streets, and that were interlaced and surrounded by large detachments of the military on foot and horseback. They passed some resolutions; but intelligence being received of the conflagrations which were commenced in the city, a hasty adjournment took place. Some of the lords met, but soon adjourned to the 19th. It was observed of the mob which surrounded the parliament house this day, that it consisted of different persons from those who attended the petition on the Friday, being composed almost wholly of men and boys of the lowest rank. Early in the afternoon, the keeper of Newgate was informed by a small party, that the jail would be forced open, if the rioters confined in it, were not released at a certain hour when applied for. He acquainted his civil superiors with it, who neglected the precaution of sending a few armed men, who, with a sufficient stock of powder and ball, might, from the top of the prison walls, have defended it against all the rioters. About seven in the evening, they came and demanded the release of their comrades; which not being complied



plied with, they took all the jailer's furniture, piled it before the prison door and burned it; they also fired his house, carried off their comrades in triumph, set at liberty all the other prisoners to the number of about 300, and fired the inside of the jail which was wholly consumed. They afterward went to New-prison Clerkenwell, and to Clerkenwell Bridewell, and released the several prisoners at these places. From the moment that the great number of prisoners was let loose, the spirit of the depredations took a different turn. Religion was no longer the sole subject of resentment; the jails, the police, and plunder were also incentives. A party appeared before Justice Fielding's house about midnight, and breaking into every room, seized all they could meet with, brought the same into the street, and making three fires, the whole was consumed. Another party went to Lord Mansfield's. All the furniture, his lordship's invaluable papers and library of books, his pictures, and every moveable, was brought into the street and burnt; after which the house itself was set on fire. A party of the guards fired on the mob several times, and a few were killed and several wounded; but the conflagration was not thereby prevented, nor would the rioters disperse till the destruction was completed. Many other houses belonging to Papists were also destroyed.

The directors of the bank took the precaution to obtain, in time, a party of soldiers to secure that grand repository of the national treasure: which was a happy circumstance, as the attention of the mob was invited toward it by a paragraph in one of the public papers, mentioning that the Papists had carried all their plate to the bank for security: though this was false, the assertion was calculated to produce the same effects, as if true. It is said, that the officer who commanded the soldiers was jealous, whether he could depend upon them in case of an emergency, because of their being chiefly Scotch, and possessing the national bigotry of their country against the act for relieving the Papists. He was glad when freed from his apprehensions, by the arrival of the militia in the metropolis.

June 7. The house of commons met at twelve, but instantly adjourned to the 19th. Though the military were pouring into the town on every side, the mob continued, even during the day-time, in different parties. In the evening and night, the capital exhibited such a dreadful spectacle of calamity and horror, and experienced such real danger, terror and distress, as it had never before known. A vast number of rioters assembled before the Fleet prison in the evening, and set fire to its different apartments, so that it was wholly consumed. A party went from thence and burnt

burnt the distilleries and dwellings of Mr. Langdale in Holborn, who was a Roman Catholic. The flames communicated to a number of adjacent houses, which were also consumed. Another party repaired to the King's Bench prison, which was burned after the prisoners had removed their effects. A different party that had assembled to the east of the city, and had burnt some houses in Whitecross-street, Houndsditch, &c. proceeded into it, and down Threadneedle-street with an intent of attacking the bank, but were fired upon by the soldiers, who killed several, and drove the rest back. Government observing that the magistracy of the city did not exert themselves in suppressing the riots (though individuals united in forming a military association which was of service) orders were issued from the adjutant-general's office, in obedience to an order of the king's council, for the military to act without waiting for directions from the civil magistrates, and to use force for dispersing the illegal and tumultuous assemblies of the people. When once the troops began to act with vigor agreeable to these orders, the different mobs were speedily suppressed, and the rioters scattered. But in the effecting of this service, 210 were killed, and 248 wounded, 75 of whom have died in hospitals.

During the night, the city was beheld from one spot, as reported, blazing in 36 different parts. Some of these conflagrations were truly tremendous from their magnitude. Of these, the burning remains of Newgate, the King's Bench prison, the new Bridewell in St. George's-fields, the Fleet prison, and the houses and great distilleries of Mr. Langdale, presented spectacles of the most dreadful nature. The natural darkness of the night, the gleam of the distant fires, the dreadful shouts of the rioters in different quarters, the frequent firings of the soldiers, and the groans of the dying formed altogether a scene so dreadful that no description can easily reach.

London, the next day, [June 8.] presented in many places, the image of a city recently stormed and sacked. All business was at an end; houses and shops were shut up; the Royal Exchange, other public buildings, and the streets, were possessed and occupied by the troops; ruins were still burning and smoking; and a dreadful void and silence reigned, where scenes of the greatest hurry, and noise, and business were habitual. From this day the riots were totally at an end, and every thing remained quiet. A number of persons were taken up; and about five o'clock in the afternoon of Saturday the 10th, Lord George Gordon was secured, conveyed to the Horse Guards, and between nine and ten conducted to the Tower.



The news of the taking of Charlestown arrived [June 15.] very opportunely for ministry a few days after, and served in a considerable degree to erase the memory of past disappointments, and to revive all the sanguine hopes of the speedy subjugation of the United States. But it did not prevent administration's being severely censured on account of the preceding disturbances. The mischiefs that had happened were charged to their neglect and delay, in not calling forth the civil power in time, and in not employing the military until it was too late. The censure passed upon them was amply counterbalanced by other effects that the riots produced. The scenes of enormity exhibited by the rioters, struck all men with horror; and inspiring a prevailing dread of popular meetings, however peaceable or legal, threw a general damp on all endeavours whatever for reformation. Thus the cause of ministry was eventually strengthened by a most disgraceful tumult, which for a while appeared to threaten the subversion of all government.

Notwithstanding Sir George Rodney's success in January, the siege of Gibraltar has been continued. The vigilance and industry of the Spaniards, in their endeavours to cut off all relief by sea, were redoubled; and the difficulty of supplying the garrison was continually increasing. They attempted, by means of seven fire ships, to burn the Panther and Experiment men of war, and a royal sloop that lay in the bay; of which the British commanders had not the smallest notice, till they were alarmed at one in the morning of June the 7th, by the approaching flames of the burning vessels. The captains, with the most immediate presence of mind, instantly manned their boats; and the officers and seamen, with their usual intrepidity, met and grappled the fireships; and then, amid the bursting of shells, and the horrors of a scene teeming with destruction, boldly towed them off, and ran them on different parts of the shore, after much labor and expence had been bestowed upon their equipment.

The Empress of Russia, having accompanied the Great Duke and Duchess on their way to make the tour of Europe, proceeded, according to a concerted appointment, to Mokilow in Poland, where she had an interview with the Emperor of Germany in the month of June. After some stay there, the emperor accompanied the Czarina on her return to Petersburg. When he had continued for a while in that city, he returned to Vienna, and was visited by the Prince Royal of Prussia. The King of Sweden made a visit about the same time to Holland.

Admiral Geary sailed from Spithead early in June with 23 ships of the line, and was afterward joined by five or six more; but  
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he was not in time to prevent the junction of the French fleet from Brest with the Spaniards at Cadiz, by which the two nations had acquired such a superiority as affords them the apparent dominion of the European seas. The admiral, however, on the 4th of July, fell in with a rich convoy from Port-au-Prince, of which he took 12 merchantmen; the rest, with the ships of war, escaped.

July 16. The Belle Poule frigate, commanded by the Chevalier Kergariou, was taken by the Nonsuch of 64 guns, Sir James Wallace captain, after an obstinate defence of more than two hours. The Chevalier and 24 men were killed; and about 40 wounded.

Mr. John Adams and Mr. Francis Dana his secretary, arrived in Spain about the middle of last December, after a very narrow escape. The frigate on board of which they were, it was thought would have foundered at sea in less than 48 hours more. After a short stay they proceeded to France. Mr. Adams is now at Amsterdam, where he will undoubtedly employ his abilities in forwarding a treaty of commerce between the United Provinces of Holland, and the United States of America, which has been in agitation now near about two years. As Mr. William Lee, whom Congress had appointed commissioner to the courts of Vienna and Berlin, was on his way to the last city, with his secretary, Mr. Samuel W. Stockton, he accidentally put up at an hotel in Aix-la-Chapelle, where Mr. John de Neufville happened to be, who hearing of them, and learning that they were Americans, joined company with them. Mr. de Neufville discoursed upon the subject of a commercial treaty. Mr. Lee had no powers to negotiate or sign any thing of the kind with the province or states of Holland; but he and his secretary agreed between themselves, that the measure should be ventured upon, could it be executed, as they had no doubt of its meeting with the approbation of Congress. Mr. de Neufville consulted Mr. Van Berkel, the counsellor and pensionary of Amsterdam, and having received his directions, proceeded to sign on the 4th of September 1778, the plan of a treaty of amity and commerce, as destined to be concluded hereafter between the states of Holland and the United States of America. Mr. de Neufville, being properly authorized by the regency of Amsterdam, further engaged; that as long as America should not act contrary to the interest of the states of Holland, the city of Amsterdam would never adopt any measure that might tend to oppose the interest of America, but would, on the contrary, use all its influence upon the states of the Seven United Provinces of Holland, to effect the desired connection.

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Though several copies of the plan were early sent to America, and the whole business has been for some time known to many, yet it appears to be still concealed from the British administration; while it is evidently different with respect to some of their councils. Mr. Adams wrote to Congress from Amsterdam on the 23d of August—"Orders are sent to prosecute the war with vigor in North Carolina and Virginia the ensuing fall, winter and spring. Britain will yield to France and Spain very great things to carry her point against America; but all will not do. France and Spain are now responsible for their conduct to the rest of Europe; besides, the separation of America from England, is an object of more pressing importance than any concessions England can make them."

#### L E T T E R IV.

*Roxbury, January 11, 1781.*

THE military operations in South-Carolina require an immediate detail. Col. Sumpter at the head of his party, made a spirited, though unsuccessful attack on the British post at Rocky-mount, on the 30th of July. He marched in quest of other royal detachments without delay, and, on the 7th of August, succeeded in an attack on their post at the Hanging-rock, where was a considerable force of regulars and Tories. The prince of Wales's regiment, which defended the place, was nearly annihilated; and a large body of Tories, that had advanced from North-Carolina under Col. Brian, was completely dispersed. Col. Sumpter's party was so short of ammunition, that when the action commenced, not a man of it had more than ten bullets. In the latter part of the fight, the arms and ammunition taken from the British and Tories who fell in the beginning, were turned against their associates.

It being known that an American army was marching from the northward for the relief of their Southern brethren, the Whig militia, on the extremities of the state, formed themselves into small parties under leaders of their own choice, and at times attacked detachments of the British army, but most frequently those of their own countrymen, who were turning out as a royal militia. These American parties severally acted from their own impulse, and

and set themselves to oppose the British, without either the knowledge of each others motions, or any preconcerted general plan. Col. Williams, of the district of Ninety-Six, was particularly indefatigable in collecting and animating the friends of Congress in that settlement; and with these he frequently harassed the conquerors.

A considerable number of North-Carolina militia took the field, and agreed to rendezvous at Anson court-house on the 20th of July, that they might be in readiness to co-operate with the continental army. On the approach of the Americans, Major M<sup>r</sup>Arthur, who commanded on the Peedee, called in his detachments, abandoned his post on the Cheraw hill, and marched directly to join the main body of the royal army at Camden. On the day the British relinquished this part of the country, the inhabitants, distressed by their depredations, and disgusted with their conduct, generally took arms. Lord Nairne and 106 British invalids, going down the Peedee, were made prisoners by a party of the Americans commanded by Major Thomas, who had been lately received as loyal subjects. A large boat coming up from George-town, well stored with necessaries for Major M<sup>r</sup>Arthur's party, was seized for the use of the American army. All the new made British militia officers, excepting Col. Mills, were made prisoners by their own men. The retreat of the British from their out-posts to Camden, and the advance of the American army, joined to the impolitic conduct of the conquerors toward their new subjects, concurred to produce a general revolt in favor of Congress.

On the 28th of July (the day after the American army encamped at Spink's farm, on the road to Camden) Col. Otho H. Williams repeated to General Gates the advice he had given in substance to Baron de Kalb, more than a fortnight before; which was to deviate from the direct road to Camden—to order General Caswell to join him at the mouth of Rocky river on Peedee, and from thence to send his heavy baggage, women and invalids to Salisbury (a day's march higher up the country) and there establish an hospital and magazines—to march all his effective troops from the mouth of Rocky river to Charlotte, where a magazine, hospital, and, if necessary, an armory might be securely established.--and from Charlotte to march by way of Waxhaws toward Camden. By this route the army might have proceeded without impediment through a well cultivated country, whose inhabitants were attached to the common cause. Magazines and hospitals might have been established in the rear, secure from surprise, and directly upon the old trading road from Philadelphia



Philadelphia to Charlestown, by which the supplies from the north might have followed the army without danger. Not only so, but the army would have been followed by numerous bands of faithful friends, able and willing both to furnish supplies and to assist with arms, instead of being encompassed with a host of fugitives, whose poverty afforded no subsistence, and whose perfidy prevented secrecy. A council was called upon the occasion; but the opinion did not prevail: The first motives preponderated, and the army pursued the direct route for Camden. It was joined by Lieut. Col. Porterfield, an officer of distinguished merit, with about 100 Virginia soldiers. He had by his singular address and good conduct, found means, not only to avoid the hapless fate of the other corps which had retreated after the surrender of Charlestown; but to subsist his men, and keep up the semblance of a possession of that part of South Carolina.

The army soon felt the scarcity of provisions; and their fatigue, fasting and repeated disappointments as to supplies, so exasperated them, that their murmurs became very audible. The aspect of mutiny was almost in every countenance; but as there was no object to be seized upon or sacrificed, the conciliating arguments of the officers, who shared the calamity without discrimination, induced the soldiers to forbear and rely upon legal expedients and a good providence for succour. The principal means of subsistence found on the march were lean cattle accidentally picked up in the woods. Meal and flour were so very scarce, that the whole army was obliged to make use of green corn and peaches, as the best substitutes for bread the country afforded. Dysenteries afflicted the troops in consequence of such diet. It was however the least of two evils. They had no other relief from famine, which, added to the intense heat of the season, and unhealthiness of the climate, threatened destruction to the army. *Starvation* became a cant term upon the occasion. Perhaps the burlesque introduced by the ignorance of some and the policy of others, to show a contempt for their sufferings, contributed not a little to the resolute stoutness that now discovered itself.

In the afternoon of the 5th of August, the American general was informed from General Caswell, that he meant to surprise or attack a post of the enemy, on little Lynch's creek. This made Gates the more anxious for a junction, as he apprehended some injudicious adventure might deprive him of the assistance which the militia were capable of affording. The next morning intelligence arrived from the same authority, which increased his anxiety to a painful degree; it was, that the enemy just mentioned, meditated an attack upon the militia in their encampment. Such a

show of enterprize, and such marks of intimidation—such a contrariety of intentions and apprehensions perplexed the commanding officer, and made the junction still more desirable. Gates therefore gave orders for the troops to clean their arms and to have every thing ready for action ; and then proceeded with his deputy adjutant general and aids to the encampment of the militia, whom he found to be a fine body of men, deficient only in discipline and military arrangements. Whether Caswell found his vanity gratified in a separate command, or wished to precipitate the army into an action with the enemy, was not discoverable : the fact is, he postponed a junction until he saw the perplexity and danger in which his ambition or indiscretion had involved the army. When it was too late for measures to be changed, he complied more through necessity than inclination.

At Deep-creek [August 6.] the troops received a supply of good beef, and half a pound of Indian corn meal per man. They eat their mess; drank of the stream contentedly ; and the next day with great cheerfulness marched to the Cross-roads, where they were joined by the militia, and the whole were encamped together. A good understanding appeared to subsist among the officers of all ranks, and the common soldiers vied with each other in supporting their spirits and despising their fatigues, which they appeared to forget. The expectation of this junction had induced the commanding officer of the post on Lynch's creek to retire the day before, under the mask of offensive operations, which caused the alarm above related.

Being now in a country of Pine-barrens, extensive sand-hills, and impenetrable swamps, unable to collect provisions and forage from the lower and more fertile parts of the country, which were covered by the enemy's advanced posts, the army could not remain more than a day in this situation, though a large reinforcement of militia from Virginia was expected every hour. Gates therefore pressed forward ; and finding the enemy disposed to dispute his passage of Lych's creek, while he kept up an appearance of taking that route, he marched the army by the right toward Clermont (better known by the name of Rugeley's mills) where the enemy had a small garrison. His intentions being discovered, both posts were abandoned with some precipitation on the 11th, the officers fearing either that their march to Camden would be intercepted, or that they should be attacked on their retreat. Lord Rawdon, who commanded the advanced posts of the British army, assembled all his forces at Camden, and suffered General Gates, without any material interruption, to conduct his army to Clermont, about 13 miles from Camden, where his troops encamped  
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on the 13th. The next day Brigadier General Stevens arrived with a respectable reinforcement of 700 Virginia militia. An express also arrived the same day from Colonel Sumpter, who reported to Gates, that a number of the South Carolina militia had joined him on the west side of the Wateree; and that an escort of clothing, ammunition and other stores for the garrison at Camden, was on the way from Charlestown, and must pass the Wateree at a ferry about a mile from Camden, under cover of a small redoubt occupied by the enemy, on the opposite bank of the river.

A detachment of the Maryland line, consisting of 100 regular infantry and a company of artillery, with two brass field pieces, and 300 North Carolina militia, were immediately forwarded under the command of Lieut. Col. Woolford to join Col. Sumpter, who had orders to reduce the redoubt and intercept the convoy. General Gates was preparing at the same time to advance still nearer to Camden, and if necessary, to take a position on some good grounds in its vicinity: but he was not without hope that Lord Rawdon would evacuate that post as he had the others; and if he should not, the prospect was, that the multitudes of militia expected from the upper counties would cut off his supplies from all quarters, and leave the garrison an easy prey to the army. After making some convenient arrangements, having the arms cleaned, and distributing some provisions, which had been collected, Gates convened his general officers, of which grade there was not less than thirteen in that little army, the militia brigades of North Carolina having far more than sufficient; and after a conference with them, he directed the deputy adjutant general, Col. Williams, to issue the following orders, with the intention as well to take the advantage of the time when Colonel Sumpter was to execute his enterprise, as to be prepared for action himself, in case it should be offered—"Camp, Clermont, 15th of August, 1780. After general orders. The sick, the extra-artillery stores, the heavy baggage, and such quarter master's stores as are not immediately wanted, to march this evening, under a guard, to Waxhaws. To this order the general requests the brigadiers general, to see that those under their command pay the most exact and scrupulous attention."

"Lieut Col. Edmonds, with the remaining guns of the park, will take post and march with the Virginia brigade under General Stevens: he will direct, as any deficiency happens in the artillery affixed to the other brigades, to supply it immediately: his military staff and a proportion of his officers, with forty of his men, are to await him and attend his orders. The troops will be ready to march precisely at ten o'clock in the following order,

viz.

viz. Col. Armand's advance—Cavalry commanded by Col. Armand—Col. Porterfield's light infantry upon the right flank of Colonel Armand, in Indian file, 200 yards from the road—Major Armstrong's infantry in the same order as Col. Porterfield's, upon the left flank of the legion:—Advance guard of foot, composed of the advanced piquets—First brigade of Maryland—Second brigade of Maryland—Division of North Carolina—Virginia division:—Rear guard—Volunteer cavalry upon flanks of the baggage equally divided.—In this order the troops will proceed on their march this night. In case of an attack by the enemies cavalry in front, the light infantry upon each flank will instantly march up, and give and continue the most galling fire upon the enemy's horse. This will enable Colonel Armand not only to support the shock of the enemy's charge, but finally to rout them. The colonel will therefore consider the order to stand the attack of the enemy's cavalry, be their number what they may, as positive."

"General Stevens will immediately order one captain, two lieutenants, one ensign, three sergeants, one drum and 60 rank and file, to join Colonel Porterfield's infantry: these are to be taken from the most experienced woodsmen, and men every way fittest for the service. General Caswell will likewise complete Major Armstrong's light infantry to their original number: these must be immediately marched to the advanced posts of the army."

"The troops will observe the profoundest silence upon their march, and every soldier who offers to fire without the command of his officer must be instantly put to death. When the ground will admit of it, and the near approach to the enemy renders it necessary, the army will (when ordered) march in columns. The artillery at the head of their respective brigades, and the baggage in the rear. The guard of the heavy baggage will be composed of the remaining officers and soldiers of the artillery, one captain, two subalterns, four sergeants, one drum and sixty rank and file, and no person whatever is to presume to send any other soldier upon that service. All bat-men, waiters, &c. who are soldiers taken from the line, are forthwith to join their regiments, and act with their masters while they are upon duty—The tents of the whole army to be struck at tattoo."

When the deputy adjutant general received these orders, he showed Gates an abstract of the field returns of the different corps, which he had just been digesting into a general return. From thence it appeared, that the whole American army, officers included, amounted only to 3663 (exclusive of the troops detached to Colonel Sumpter) beside Colonel Porterfield's and Major Armstrong's



strong's light infantry, amounting to 250, and Colonel Armand's legion to 120, altogether 370, and a few volunteer cavalry.— There were about 900 continental infantry, rank and file, and 70 cavalry. This force was inferior to what the general imagined: his plan however was adopted, and he thought it too late to retreat. The army marched about ten at night, and had proceeded to within half a mile of Sander's creek, about half way to Camden, when a firing commenced in front.

Lord Cornwallis, unknown to General Gates, arrived the day before at Camden. His inferior force, consisting of about 1700 infantry and 300 cavalry, would have justified a retreat: but considering that no probable events of an action could be more injurious to the royal interest than that measure, he resolved upon taking the first good opportunity of attacking the Americans; and learning that the situation of their encampment at Clermont was disadvantageous, he marched about the same time the Americans did, with a full determination to attack them in their camp at day break. About half an hour past two in the morning, [Aug. 16.] the advanced parties of both armies met in the woods, and a firing commenced. Some of the cavalry of Armand's legion being wounded by the first fire, threw the others into disorder, and the whole recoiled so suddenly, that the first Maryland regiment, in front of the column, was broken, and the whole line of the army thrown into a general consternation. This first impression struck deep. The light infantry however executed their orders; and particularly those under Porterfield behaved with such spirit, that the enemy was no less surprised at this unexpected meeting. A few prisoners were taken on both sides, by whose information the respective commanders derived a knowledge of circumstances, of which both, till then, were ignorant. Porterfield, in whose abilities and activity Gates had justly placed great dependence, received a musket ball, which shattered the bones of his leg, and was under the necessity of submitting to be carried into the rear. A part of the light infantry still kept their ground, and being supported by the van-guard and the legion infantry, which discovered much bravery, the American army soon recovered its order. Cornwallis also kept his ground; and frequent skirmishes ensued during the night, with scarce any other effect than to discover the situation of the armies, to evince the intentions of the generals, and to serve as a prelude to what was to occur in the morning.

Immediately after the alarm, the American army was formed in the following manner—the second Maryland brigade, under General Gift, on the right of the line, flanked by a morass; —

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the North Carolina division under General Caswell, in the centre;—and the Virginia brigade, under General Stevens, on the left, flanked by the North Carolina militia light infantry and a morass: thus both flanks were well covered. The artillery was posted on the most advantageous ground, near the main road, which was about the centre of the line. Colonel Armand's corps was ordered to the left, to support the left flank, and oppose the enemy's cavalry. Baron de Kalb commanded on the right of the line; and General Smallwood the first Maryland brigade, which was posted as a corps-de-reserve two or three hundred yards in the rear. Gates then called his general officers together, and desired Colonel Williams to communicate the information which he had collected from the captives, which being done, the general said, "Gentlemen, you know our situation, what are your opinions?" General Stevens answered, "It is now too late to retreat." Silence ensuing, and no reply being made, the general, after a pause, pronounced, "Then we must fight: gentlemen, please to take your posts." No more was said in council: but it was afterward declared to be the private opinion of some then present, that it was injudicious to risk a general battle, and that a retreat was by no mean impracticable. It was not to the credit of any officer to make such declaration. Whoever is called to a council of war, and declines giving his own opinion; if he has any, acts below the courage of a soldier, and should thenceforward screen either his cowardice or treachery, by keeping the matter a profound secret.

The British army was thus disposed—the division on the right consisted of a small corps of light infantry, the 23d and 33d regiments under Lieut. Col. Webster;—the division on the left was formed of the volunteers of Ireland, the infantry of the legion, and part of Lieut. Col. Hamilton's North Carolina regiment, under Lord Rawdon, with two six and two three pounders, commanded by Lieut. M'Leod;—the 71st regiment with a six pounder, composed the reserve, one battalion in the rear of the right division, the other of the left;—and the cavalry of the legion was stationed in the rear, close to the 71st regiment. This disposition was made at break of day: but before it took place the British appeared in column about 200 yards in front of the American artillery, while General Gates was with his corps-de-reserve. Colonel Williams ordered the artillery to be fired upon them, which was instantly obeyed; and then went to inform Gates of the occasion of the firing, and of the enemy's having the appearance of spreading and forming a line by their right, "which," said the colonel, "gives a favorable opportunity of commencing



ing the attack of infantry with Stevens's brigade." The general answered, "Very proper, let it be done." Orders were immediately given to Stevens, who advanced with his brigade in excellent order and with great alacrity. The enemy had, however, formed their line before he got near enough for action. Both lines were advancing, and had come within firing distance of each other, when Stevens, encouraging his men, put them in mind of their bayonets, which they had received only the day before, calling out to them, "My brave fellows, you have bayonets as well as they, we'll charge them."

Col. Williams had advanced in front of the brigade, from which he had taken a few volunteers, intending, by a partial fire, to extort that of the enemy at some distance, in expectation that the militia would stand the first discharge, and be brought to closer action with their loaded muskets. But the advantage was lost. Lord Cornwallis observing the movement of the Virginians under Stevens, gave orders to Lieut. Col. Webster to begin an attack. The British infantry upon that rushed through the thin fire of the militia with great intrepidity, and furiously charged the brigade with a cheer. The intimidated militia threw down most of their arms, bayonets and all, and with the utmost precipitation and trepidation fled from the field, and were followed by the North Carolina militia light infantry. The whole North Carolina division being panic-struck, imitated the shameful example; except one regiment commanded by Col. Dixon, next in the line of battle to the continental regulars, which fired several rounds: indeed, General Gregory's brigade, to which that regiment belonged, paused longer than the others: but at last all fled, and the majority without their arms, or firing a single shot. It cannot appear excessively strange, that such raw militia could not stand before bayonets, when it is considered, that for some time they had subsisted on fruit scarcely ripe, without any regular rations of flesh, flour, or spirituous liquors;—that their strength and spirits were depressed by such preceding low regimen;—and that, after an unexpected meeting of the enemy, they had to lie for hours on their arms, attended with the apprehension of immediate danger, and the horrors of the night.

All the militia who composed the left wing and centre being routed, the second continental brigade, consisting of Maryland and Delaware troops, making the right wing, and the corps-de-reserve, were left to fight or retreat; but as they had no orders for the latter, they maintained their position with great resolution, and gave the British an unexpected check. The second brigade even gained ground, and took no less than 50 prisoners. But  
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the corps-de-reserve being considerably out flanked, were thrown into disorder: they were soon rallied by their officers, and renewed the action with much spirit. Overpowered by numbers they were again broken: but the brave examples and exertions of the officers induced them to form afresh. The gallantry of this corps covered, in a great measure, the left of the second brigade, which was in a manner blended with the enemy's line on their left, where the conflict was desperate. The Americans thinking themselves masters of the field, disputed with the British who should conquer and retain the other as prisoners of war. At length the enemy directing their whole force against these two devoted corps, the fire of the musketry became yet more tremendous, and was continued with equal perseverance and obstinacy, till Lord Cornwallis observing that there was no cavalry opposed to him, pushed forward his dragoons, and charging with his bayonets at the same moment, put an end to the contest. Never did men behave better than the continentals in the whole of the action; but all attempts to rally the militia were ineffectual. Lieut. Col. Tarleton's legion charged them as they broke, and pursued them as they were fleeing. Without having it in their power to defend themselves, they fell in great numbers under the legionary sabres.

General Gates was borne off the field by a torrent of dismayed militia. They constituted so great a part of his army, that when he saw them break and flee with such precipitation, he lost every hope of victory; and his only care was, if possible, to rally a sufficient number, to cover the retreat of the regular troops: he retired with General Caswell to Clermont, in hope of halting them at their late encampment. But the further they fled, the more they dispersed, and the generals giving up all as lost, retired with a very few attendants to Charlotte. On their retreat, an officer from Col. Sumpter overtook them, and reported to Gates, that the Colonel had succeeded fully in his enterprise the evening before against the enemy's post on the Wateree; had reduced the redoubt and captured the guard; and had intercepted the escort with the stores, which were all taken, with about 40 waggons and upward of 100 prisoners. Gates however could take no advantage of this success: the enemy were at his heels, and his victorious friends on the opposite side of a river too distant to form a junction in time to prevent his fate.

Most of the Virginia militia returned to Hillsborough by the route they came to camp; and General Stevens found means to stop a considerable number at that place: but the term for which they had taken the field being nearly expired, all who had not deserted were soon afterward discharged. The North Carolinians

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fled different ways, as their hopes led or their fears drove them, and many were intercepted by their disaffected countrymen, who but a few days before had generally submitted to Gates, by whom they were generously sent to their homes, upon a promise of remaining neutre or of following his colours. Several considerable parties had actually taken arms with a professed design of joining the Americans; but so soon as they heard of their defeat, they became active in the pursuit of the fugitives, and killed or captured all that came in their way.

Baron de Kalb, while exerting himself with great bravery to prevent the defeat of the day, received eleven wounds. His aid de camp, Lieut. Colonel du Buysson, embraced him, announced his rank and nation to the surrounding foe, and begged that they would spare his life. While he generously exposed himself to save his friend, he received sundry dangerous wounds, and was taken prisoner. The baron expired in a short time, though he received the most particular assistance from the British. He spent his last breath in dictating a letter, expressive of the warmest affection for the officers and men of his division—of the greatest satisfaction in the testimony given by the British army of the bravery of his troops—of his being charmed with the firm opposition they made to superior force, when abandoned by the rest of the army—of the infinite pleasure he received from the gallant behaviour of the Delaware regiment, and the companies of artillery attached to the brigades—and of the endearing sense he entertained of the merit of the whole division he commanded. The Congress resolved on the 14th of October, that a monument should be erected to his memory in Annapolis, the metropolis of Maryland, with a very honorable inscription. General Rutherford surrendered to a party of the British legion. All the other general officers escaped; but were separated from their respective commands, and obliged to flee with precipitation. Every corps was broken, and dispersed through the woods. The bogs and brush, which in a degree screened them from the fury of their foes, laid them under the necessity of separating from each other. Major Anderson, of the 3d Maryland regiment, was the only infantry officer, whose efforts to rally the men, after the total rout, were in any degree effectual. A few individuals of several companies joined him at some distance from the field, and others added to that small number by falling into his ranks on the march. The removal of the heavy baggage to Waxhaws was delayed till the morning of the action, contrary to Gates's express orders the day preceding: so that the greatest part, together with all that followed the army, fell into the hands of the enemy, or was plun-

dered in the route by those who went off early, and could take time for such baseness. A general transfer of property took place: even that which escaped the foe fell not again into the hands of the right owners, except some small part of the officers baggage, which was recovered at Charlotte. The baggage waggons indeed of General Gates and Baron de Kalb, being furnished with stout horses and clever drivers, who understood their business and knew the roads, were fully preserved. All the baron's baggage and papers were saved: as were Gates's, and every paper and private letter of all the gentlemen belonging to his family. The pursuit was rapid for more than twenty miles; and so great was the dismay of the retreating troops (the cries of the murdered in the rear, being echoed by the women and wounded men with increasing terror) that at the distance of forty miles, whole teams of horses were cut out of the waggons to accelerate the flight. Many wounded officers and soldiers were got off by like expedients: some of whom gave astonishing proofs of what pain, fatigue and want, the human constitution can bear. The road by which the troops fled, was covered with arms, baggage, the sick, the wounded, and the dead. Gates was persuaded by all that he saw and heard, that the regular troops were entirely cut off, and the whole either killed or captured; and that there was no prospect of collecting a force at Charlotte (where he arrived late in the night) adequate to the defence of the country: he therefore left General Caswell at Charlotte to assemble the militia of Mecklenburgh county, and proceeded with all possible dispatch to Hillsborough, to devise some plan of defence in conjunction with the legislative body of North-Carolina. He considered not, that by shortening his journey, and remaining at Charlotte or Salisbury, appearances would be less unfavorable to his personal reputation, though less beneficial to the public cause.

Lord Cornwallis's victory was complete. The Americans lost eight field pieces, the whole of their artillery, with all their ammunition waggons, beside 150 others, a considerable quantity of military stores, and the greatest part of their baggage. The numbers slain cannot be precisely ascertained, no returns of the militia ever being made after the action. Three hundred of the North Carolina militia, beside 63 wounded, were made prisoners. Only three of the Virginia militia were left wounded on the field of battle: owing to their making no stand, and being first in flight, but few of them were captured. From the abstract of muster and inspection, taken at Hillsborough October the 1st, it appears that, exclusive of Baron de Kalb and General Rutherford, the numbers of killed, captured and missing, in the actions of the



16th and 18th, were 4 lieutenant colonels, 3 majors, 14 captains, 4 captain lieutenants, 16 lieutenants, 3 ensigns, 4 staff, 78 subalterns, and 604 rank and file. The impossibility of accounting with certainty for those who fell in battle, and those who fell into the hands of the enemy, obliged the officers to make many missing, who were probably killed, or prisoners. Though Cornwallis's victory was complete, yet from the accounts which the British gave of the action, it may be inferred that it was dearly bought. Gates apprehended early in September, that he had established it as a certain fact, that more than 500 of their old troops were killed and wounded.

On the 17th and 18th of August, brigadiers Smallwood and Gist, with several other officers, arrived at Charlotte (full 80 miles from the place of action) where upward of an hundred regular infantry, Col. Armand's cavalry, and a Major Davie's small partizan corps of horse from the Waxhaw settlement had collected. Smallwood had been separated from the first Maryland brigade, after the men had been engaged a while, by the enterposal of the enemy; and finding it impracticable to rejoin them, as well as apprehending they must be overpowered and could not retreat, rode off for personal safety. The little provision which the troops met with at Charlotte, proved a most seasonable refreshment. The drooping spirits of the officers began to revive; and hopes were entertained, that a respectable force might soon be again assembled from the country militia, and from the addition of Col. Sumpter's victorious detachment. All these prospects however were soon obscured, by intelligence on the 19th of the complete dispersion of that corps. On hearing of Gen. Gates's defeat, Col. Sumpter began to retreat up the south side of the Wateree, with his prisoners and captured stores. Lord Cornwallis on the morning of the 17th, dispatched Tarleton with his legion and a detachment of infantry, to pursue him. This was done with so much celerity and address, that he was overtaken the next day at Fishing-creek. The British horse rode into the camp before he was prepared for defence. The Americans having been four days without sleep or provisions, were more obedient to the calls of nature, than attentive to her first law of self-preservation. Col. Sumpter had taken every prudent precaution to prevent a surprise, but his vintages were so fatigued that they neglected their duty. With much difficulty he got a few of his corps to make a short stand, but the greater part fled to the river or to the woods. The British prisoners, about 300, were all retaken and conducted to Camden. The colonel lost all his artillery, and the whole detachment was either killed, captured or dispersed.

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Every hope from that quarter being thus banished, and the militia not expected to assemble in less than three days, the officers and soldiers at Charlotte began to think their situation again dangerously critical. No order had yet taken place among those who had fortuitously met there. The troops were half famished; and there was no store of provisions in the town, which was open on all sides, and no more defensible than a plain. There was nothing to oppose or impede the approach of the enemy, for the Wateree was fordable. In fact there were reasons sufficient to apprehend that the wretched remnant of an unfortunate army might be cut to pieces before night. The officers therefore were generally of opinion, that no time should be lost in making a retreat toward Salisbury; and the whole were prepared to march at the moment when General Smallwood, who quartered at a small distance from the town, came to take the command. Col. Williams, the deputy adjutant general, and one of the brigade majors, took the route toward Camden, to direct those coming that road to file off for Salisbury, as also to get further intelligence of the enemy. The necessary information was sent by express to Major Anderson. The troops were followed by a number of whig families, and the whole tribe of the Catawba Indians, in number about 300, of which there were about 60 warriors. There was greater plenty of provisions in this part of the country, than in that through which the army had advanced. The troops supplied themselves under the direction of the officers, there being no magazines. In such circumstances a strict regularity could not be preserved, and the inhabitants necessarily felt the effects of the general distress.

A minute representation of the retreat from Charlotte to Salisbury, would be the image of complicated wretchedness. Care, anxiety, pain humiliation and dejection, poverty, hurry and confusion, promiscuously marked the shocking scene. Painful objects presented themselves to view—several men without an arm—some with but one—and many standing in need of kind and powerful assistance.

The exertions of Colonel Williams of Ninety Six on the side of Congress have been already noticed: it must now be mentioned, that on the day Sumpter was surpris'd, he engaged a considerable party of British and Tories, at Musgrove's mills, on the Enoree river. On the 17th, he marched, with Colonels Shelby and Clark, and a party of about 200 South Carolinians and Georgians, to attack a body of 200 Tories. These were reinforced at night by 100 more and 200 regulars. The next day they advanced upon the whig party; every man of which was ordered to take his tree for defence, not to fire till the



the enemy was within 8 yards, and then to be sure of his object. A warm fire began: after a while the enemy was obliged to retreat, having 60 men killed, mostly British, and 70 wounded: the others had 3 killed and 8 wounded.

Major Anderfon, having obtained intelligence of Lieut. Col. Tarleton's retiring after surprising Sumpter, moved slowly in order to give the fugitive soldiers an opportunity of joining him; and continued his march toward Charlotte as the nearest place of repose and refreshment, of which his little party was in great want. From Charlotte the major sent an express to General Smallwood at Salisbury, to inform him of his arrival, the situation of the enemy, and the wish of the people in that neighbourhood, that he would continue with his party among them. He also acquainted the general, that it was the request of the militia, that he would return and take the command of them, Caswell having left Charlotte, before the time appointed for their meeting. The general declined the honor of the invitation, considering the feebleness of his force, that the men were worn down with fatigue and fasting, were destitute of all necessaries, and therefore inadequate to the needful assistance, in case the British should advance. He sent also the particular friend of Major Anderfon to hasten his departure from Charlotte, and to conduct him to Salisbury, where he continued with the effective soldiers who had joined him from time to time. After the major's arrival at Salisbury, Smallwood received an order from Gates to advance toward Hillsborough, which order he had anticipated by having crossed the river before he received it: The troops were halted for a day or two at Guildford court-house, and then upon fresh orders from Gates marched on to Hillsborough, where they arrived the 6th of September. A few officers and men had arrived there before by a different route.\*

Lord Cornwallis, notwithstanding the completeness of his victory, was restrained for some time from pursuing his conquests, through the loss he had sustained in the battle, the extreme heat of the weather, the sickness of the season, and the want of necessary supplies; he therefore remained at Camden. But he dispatched proper people to North Carolina the day after the action, with directions to the loyalists to take arms and assemble immediately; and promised to march without loss of time to their support. Till he could advance toward that state, his attention was engaged in adopting measures to crush all future opposition to the  
royal

\* In compiling the above narrative from July the 28th recourse has been had to a detail of facts written by the deputy adjutant general, Col. Otho H. Williams.

royal government, which betrayed him into a still severer policy than had hitherto been adopted.

On the 18th of August he thus addressed Lieut. Col. Cruger, the commandant of the British garrison at Ninety Six—"I have given orders that all the inhabitants of this province who had submitted, and who have taken a part in this revolt, should be punished with the greatest rigor, that they should be imprisoned, and their whole property taken from them or destroyed. I have likewise directed, that compensation should be made out of their effects to the persons who have been plundered and oppressed by them. I have ordered, in the most positive manner, that every militia man, who had bore arms with us, and had afterward joined the enemy, should be immediately hanged. I have now, Sir, only to desire, that you will take the most vigorous measures to extinguish the rebellion, in the district in which you command, and that you will obey in the strictest manner, the directions I have given in this letter, relative to the treatment of this country."\* Similar orders were addressed to the commanders of different posts. Executions and severities followed, which instead of extinguishing what his lordship pronounces rebellion, will only cause it to rage in the breasts of the determined friends to Congress, till it bursts forth with redoubled fury whenever a promising opportunity offers.

Notwithstanding the triumph of the British arms in the conquest, first of the capital and then of the state of South Carolina, several of the inhabitants, respectable for their numbers, but more so for their weight and influence, had continued firm to the cause of independence: though restrained by their paroles from doing any thing injurious to the interest of his Britannic majesty, yet by their silent example they had induced many to decline exchanging their paroles as prisoners, for the protection and privileges of British subjects. To remove every bias of this kind, and to enforce a general submission to royal government, Lord Cornwallis gave orders to send out of the state a number of such principal persons, prisoners on parole in Charlestown. On the 27th of August, Christopher Gadsden, Esq; the lieutenant governor, most of the civil and militia officers, and some others of the hearty friends of America, were taken early in the morning out of their houses and beds by armed parties, and brought to the exchange, from whence, when collected together, they were removed on board the Sandwich guardship, and from thence transported, in a few days, to St. Augustine. The manner in which the order was executed,

\* It was sent to General Green as a genuine copy of the order, by his lordship in a letter of December 27, 1780.



executed, was not less painful to the feelings of gentlemen, than the order itself was injurious to the rights of prisoners, entitled to the benefits of a capitulation. Guards were left at their respective houses. The private papers of some were examined. Reports were immediately circulated to their disadvantage, and every circumstance managed so as to induce a general belief, that they were all apprehended for violating their paroles, and for concerting a scheme for burning the town, and massacring the loyal subjects. On the very day of their confinement, they remonstrated to Lieut. Col. Balfour, the commandant of Charlestown, asserting their innocence, and challenging their accusers to appear face to face, with their charges against them. To this a message from the commandant was delivered officially, in which he acknowledged that this extraordinary step had been taken "from motives of policy." On the first of September Gen. Moultrie, as the senior continental officer, that was a prisoner under the capitulation, demanded a release from the prison-ship, of those gentlemen particularly, who were entitled to the benefit of that act; and requested, that if the demand could not be complied with, he might have leave to send an officer to Congress to represent the grievance. The commandant, under the pretence that the terms of the letter were very exceptionable and unwarrantable, declined returning an answer; and cleared himself of a business that he was not capable of defending, by declaring, in a note from a major of brigade, that he would not receive any further application from the general on the subject.

The British endeavoured to justify the sending of the citizens to St. Augustine, by alledging the right of captors to remove prisoners whithersoever they please, without regarding their convenience. It was generally conceived, that the right of the citizens of Charlestown to reside at their homes, was not only strongly implied, but plainly expressed in the capitulation; however as the article respecting the inhabitants of the town, only promised that they should be prisoners on parole, and did not immediately add in Charlestown, the British commanders took the advantage of it for removing gentlemen, charged with no breach of the capitulation, from their houses, wives and children, by offering them that parole in St. Augustine, to which they had an undoubted right in Charlestown, upon the established rule among civilized nations, to construe capitulations, where ambiguous, in favor of the vanquished. The suffering individuals might justly complain upon the occasion; but Congress could not, considering what had taken place with regard to the convention troops under General Burgoyne.

On the 16th of September, Lord Cornwallis proceeded to the sequestration of all estates belonging to the decided friends of American independence. In the execution of this business, John Cruden, Esq; was appointed to take possession of the estates of particular persons, designated in warrants issued by his lordship or the commandant of Charlestown. Many will pronounce this sequestration, by his proclamation, as justifiable as the confiscation of real and personal property of the several American states, upon the recommendation of Congress in 1777.

The numbers of real royalists, together with the occasional ones who joined the train of the conqueror, bore so large a proportion to the remaining inhabitants of South Carolina, that Lord Cornwallis, with his superiority in arms, might reasonably expect, that the patrons of American independence would be utterly incapable of giving him further trouble in that state: but events were different. Col. Marion had retired from Charlestown during the siege, his leg being fractured, which disabled him from commanding his regiment. After the surrender of the capital, he retreated to North Carolina. He was promoted by Gov. Rutledge to the rank of brigadier general, about the time that Sumpter was honored in like manner; which was soon after the latter had penetrated into South Carolina, and recommenced a military opposition to British government though he has hitherto been spoken of under his continental title of colonel. Marion successfully prosecuted, in the north eastern extremities of the state, the same plan with Sumpter. On the advance of Gen. Gates, he procured the command of sixteen men: with these he penetrated through the country, and took a position near the Santee. From this station he sallied out and captured a small British guard, and rescued 150 soldiers of the Maryland and Delaware corps, who, having been taken on the 16th of August, were on their way from Camden to Charlestown. He released the prisoners, paroled his captives, and then took himself to the woods. The defeat of Gates however obliged him to quit the state; but after an absence of a few days he returned. In his letter from Peedee of August the 29th he wrote to Gates—"As the militia is not under any command, some days I have not more than a dozen with me."—In subsequent ones he expressed himself as follows—"On September the 4th, marched with 53 to attack a body of 200 Tories, who intended to surprise me:—surprised a party of 45, killed and wounded all but 15, who escaped:—met and attacked the main body, and put them to flight, though they had 200 men."—"Marched to Black Mingo September the 24th, where was a guard of 60 men of the militia:—attacked them on the 28th:—killed



killed three, wounded and took 13 prisoners. I had 1 captain, and 1 private killed; 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, and 6 privates wounded: several of the enemy have since been found dead in a swamp to which they took. So many of my men were desirous of seeing their wives and families which have been burnt out, that I found it necessary to retreat the next morning. The prisoners taken are men of fortune and family, which I hope will check the militia from taking arms against us. Capt. Murphy's party have burnt a great number of houses on little Peedee, and intend to go on in that abominable work, which I am apprehensive may be laid to me; but I assure you, that there is not one house burnt by my orders, or by any of my people: it is what I detest, to distress poor women and children." The manner of Marion's expressing himself, points out Murphy for an anti-royalist. Many of the professed whigs disgraced themselves, by the burnings, plunderings and cruelties, that they practised in their turn upon the royalists. They changed sides at times, as appears by Marion's letter of October the 18th—"I have never yet had more than seventy men to act with me, and sometimes they leave me to 20 or 30. Many who had fought with me, I am now obliged to fight against." He wrote to Gates "Nov. the 4th. I crossed Peedee the 24th of Oct the next night came up with two hundred men under Col. Tyne, whom I surprised: killed 6, wounded 14, and took prisoners 23, and got 80 horses and saddles, and as many stand of arms. The colonel made his escape; but, sending a party to the High Hills of Santee, he fell into our hands, with several other prisoners, and some who have been very active against us and great plunderers. The militia are now turning out better than they have done. At present I have upwards of 300, and expect that in three or four days it will be double." "Black river, Nov. the 9th. Col. Tarleton [with his corps] has burnt all the houses, and destroyed all the corn, from Camden down to Nelson's ferry: has behaved to the poor women with great barbarity; beat Mrs. Richardson, the relict of Gen. Richardson, to make her tell where I was; and has not left her a change of raiment. He not only destroyed all the corn, but burnt a number of cattle in the houses he fired.—It is distressing to see the women and children sitting in the open air round a fire without a blanket, or any clothing but what they had on, and women of family, and that had ample fortunes: for he spares neither whig nor tory. Most of the inhabitants to the southward are ready and eager to take up arms against their task masters." "Nov. the 21st. Col. Tarleton retreated to Camden after destroying most of the houses and provisions on the High

Hills of Santee.—Many of my people have left me and gone over to the enemy: for they think we have no army coming on, and that they have been deceived, as we have heard nothing from you for a great while. Gen. Harrington has not done any service with the troops he commands, while I have been obliged to act with so few, as not to have it in my power to do any thing effectual, for want of men and ammunition." So much was he distressed for ammunition, that he has engaged when he had not three rounds to each man of his party. At other times he brought his men into view, though without ammunition, that he might make a show of numbers to the enemy. The saws of mills were converted into horsemen's swords for his defence. For months he and his party slept in the open air, and sheltered themselves in the thick recesses of deep swamps; from whence he sallied out, whenever an opportunity of harrassing the enemy, or of serving his country presented itself. He paid the greatest regard to private property, and restrained his men from every species of plunder.

Opposition to royal government cannot be said to have been, at any time, altogether extinct in the extremities of South Carolina. The inhabitants of a part of the state, called the New Acquisition, never were paroled as prisoners, nor did they take protection as subjects. A considerable part of Sumpter's men, after their dispersion on the 18th of August, repaired to that settlement, and generally kept in small parties for their own defence. Some of them joined Major Davie at the head of about fifty volunteers, who had equipped themselves as dragoons, and was the only American corps which at that time had not been beaten or dispersed. Let us now repair to Hillsborough.

General Gates seeing the wretched relics of his unfortunate continental army destitute of every thing, did all that was possible to procure them provisions and clothing. He used the most pressing solicitations to Governor Nash and the assembly of North Carolina. They being present, saw and lamented the hapless fate of those brave men, who had been deserted in danger by the people they meant to protect. Humanity, gratitude, policy and self-defence, dictated the most vigorous exertions. Such were the exigencies of the whig party, that every man felt and submitted to the necessity of giving all his assistance, as well on the present occasion, as to provide against contingent misfortunes. The legislature therefore unanimously concurred in the measure of taking arms, ammunition, and clothing, wherever to be found in the state, on the credit of the state: for paper money had scarce any value, and they had no other. They also ordered, that a class  
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of their militia should be draughted, and march immediately toward Salisbury, for which place it was thought Lord Cornwallis was preparing to advance with his army. A comfortable supply of fresh meat and meal, or flour, was procured for the hospital; and beef was better and more plenty at Hillsborough than it used to be in camp. An arrangement of the broken troops took place upon an agreement of a council of general and field officers, and by order of the commanding officer. The first, third, fifth and seventh Maryland regiments, formed together one battalion, called the first, and was commanded by Major Anderson. The second, fourth and sixth Maryland regiments, with the Delaware, constituted the second battalion, and was commanded by Major Hardman. These two battalions were completely officered and formed one regiment, commanded by Col. Otho Holland Williams, and Lieut. Col. Howard. The troops being without pay, clothing, and sometimes provision, many temptations were used to seduce them from their duty, and to desert to the British army, which was well clothed and fed, and duly supplied with rum, a thing of no small consideration with common men: yet such was their fidelity, that very few left the field, even to return to their families: and they several times seized and brought before their officers, those who would have conducted them to Camden, and have rewarded them for their treachery. They were, after a time, encamped about a mile out of town, though without tents, by the help of fence-rails, poles, brush and Indian corn-tops. The officers suffered no circumstance of humiliation or distress, to induce them into a remission of discipline; and being always with their respective commands and sharing their fate, a mutual confidence and affection, and at the same time a due subordination prevailed throughout the line. Col Buford having recruited his regiment, (which had been so cruelly handled by Tarleton's legion) to about 200 men, arrived from Virginia on the 16th of September: but they were badly armed, and almost destitute of clothing. Near the same time, sixty Virginia militia arrived; as did about fifty of Porterfield's light infantry on the 18th: these joined Buford's corps. The regiments commanded by him and Williams were formed into one brigade by general orders, and the command given to General Smallwood.

Early in September Col. Clark collected a number of Americans, and marched through the upper parts of South-Carolina on his way to Georgia. A few joined him in Ninety Six, but the more prudent discouraged him from his ill-timed enterprise. He however prosecuted his design; and by the 14th arrived at Augusta with about 500 men. He soon engaged Lieut. Col. Brown  
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the commandant ; who with his small garrison and a few Indians, defended himself bravely, till he got possession of the Garden hill ; then the action became warm for about a quarter of an hour, when the Americans gave way, on which he took post at the houses. At one the next day about 50 Cherokee Indians showed themselves on the opposite hill, and got into the garrison ; and as soon as they were furnished with arms and ammunition, the Americans were discovered advancing. A warm engagement followed soon after, and continued till night. Clark afterward summoned Brown to surrender, and received for answer, " I shall do my duty as an officer by defending myself to the last extremity." Brown was then threatened in a second letter, and replied to Clark, " If you have nothing further to offer, upon the return of the flag hostilities will commence afresh." Brown expected to be relieved, which took place on Monday morning the 18th, by the arrival of Lieut. Col. Cruger from Ninety Six, with a party of regular troops and militia, on the opposite hill. By the time Cruger had crossed the first of his people over the river, part of the garrison sallied out upon the Americans, and brought in two pieces of artillery and some prisoners, one of whom (Henry Dukes) was instantly hanged. Brown was wounded in both thighs at the beginning of the action. The loss was considerable on the side of the royalists ; though more so on that of the Americans. When the last had left Augusta, the inhabitants who had joined Clark, or were supposed to favor his design, were treated with the utmost severity (Brown hanged about thirty) which has greatly disgusted, and prepared the minds of the people for a determined revolt.

In consequence of measures taken by the governor and assembly of North Carolina, a small quantity of clothing was obtained ; and in a few days four companies of light infantry were equipped and selected from the line. The remains of the first and third regiments of cavalry came to camp the 2d of October, commanded by Lieut. Cols. Washington and White. On the same day Col. Morgan, who had been but a few days arrived, was invested with the command of the light troops, consisting of the cavalry under Washington, four companies of regular infantry under Howard, and a small body of riflemen from Virginia. Morgan had orders to march immediately toward Salisbury, and act in concert with the militia of North Carolina, whom the legislature had subjected to the command of General Smallwood.

While Lord Cornwallis was restrained from active operations, by the excessive heats and unhealthy season which followed his victory at Camden, Major Ferguson, of the 7 1st British regiment, undertook



undertook personally to visit the settlements of the disaffected to the American cause, and to train their young men for service in the field. With these, at a proper season, he was to join his lordship, who advanced with his army from Camden to Waxhaws about the 8th of September. Ferguson having collected a considerable body of troops, principally from new raised corps, was detached by way of Burke's court-house to manœuvre through the northern parts of South Carolina, and to join Cornwallis at Charlotte, of which place his lordship took possession on the 6th of September; but not without being opposed on his route by the North and South Carolina militia. Major Davie also, with his volunteer corps of horse, which served the militia as a guard, contributed considerably to annoy him and insult his power. Ferguson extended his route into Tryon county in North Carolina, and by proclamation, and threats induced many to join him. He had under him a considerable proportion of those licentious people, who, having collected from all parts of America into these remote countries, were willing to take the opportunity of the prevailing confusion to carry on their usual depredations. As they marched, they plundered the whig inhabitants. Violences of this kind frequently repeated, induced many persons to consult their own safety by flying beyond the mountains. By such lively representations of their sufferings, as the distressed are always ready to give, they added to that alarm and terror, which the total rout of Gates's army had spread through the most distant parts of North Carolina. The people conceived that their security depended upon their taking arms, and keeping the war as far from home as possible. Ferguson was tempted to stay near the western mountains longer than necessary, under the hope of cutting off Clark in his retreat from Georgia. This delay gave an opportunity for the junction of several corps of militia, which proved his ruin. Col. Williams of Ninety Six pursued him with 50 horse. The inhabitants about the western waters (north of North Carolina and west of the Alleghaney and Virginia) voluntarily mustered under their respective colonels in the different quarters where they lived. Being all mounted, and unencumbered with baggage, their motions were rapid. Each man set out with his blanket, knapsack, and gun, in quest of Major Ferguson, in the same manner he was used to pursue the wild beasts of the forest. At night the earth afforded them a bed, and the heavens a covering: the running stream quenched their thirst, while a few cattle, driven in their rear, together with the supplies acquired by their guns, secured them provision. They were under the command of colonels Campbell, Cleveland, Shelby and Sevier. The

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first junction of these mountaineers was accidental. Williams was informed, on the 2d of October, by one express from Shelby that 1500 were upon their march, and by another from Cleveland, that he was within ten miles with 800 men. When they had all joined near Gilbert-town, they amounted to near 3000. They soon found out Ferguson's encampment. This was on an eminence of a circular base, known by the name of King's Mountain, situated near the confines of North and South Carolina. On being apprehended, that Ferguson was hastening his march down the country to join Cornwallis, the Americans selected nine hundred and ten of their best men, and mounted them on their fleetest horses. With this force they came up with Ferguson on the 7th of October. Some dispute had arisen about the right of command; but it was finally agreed to be given to Campbell. The enterprise however was conducted without regular military subordination, under the direction of Campbell, Cleveland, Shelby, Sevier and Williams, each of whom respectively led on his own men. As they approached the royal encampment, it was agreed to divide their force. Some ascended the mountain, while others went round its base in opposite directions. Cleveland, in his progress round with one of the detachments, discovered an advanced picket of the royal troops. On this occasion he addressed his men in the following language—"My brave fellows, we have beat the tories, and we can beat them. They are all cowards. If they had the spirit of men, they would join with their fellow citizens, in supporting the independence of their country. When engaged, you are not to wait for the word of command from me. I will show you by my example how to fight. I can undertake no more. Every man must consider himself as an officer, and act from his own judgment. Fire as quick as you can, and stand your ground as long as you can. When you can do no better, get behind trees or retreat; but I beg of you not to run quite off. If we are repulsed, let us make a point to return and renew the fight. Perhaps you may have better luck in the second attempt than the first. If any of you are afraid, such have leave to retire, and they are requested immediately to take themselves off."

The firing commenced about four o'clock in the evening. The picket gave way, and were pursued as they retired up the mountain to the main body. Ferguson, with the greatest bravery ordered his men to charge. The Americans retired from the approaching bayonet. Soon after these had retreated, Shelby with the other detachment, having completed the designed circuit, opportunely arrived, and from an unexpected quarter poured in a well directed fire. Ferguson desisted from the pursuit, and



and engaged his new adversaries. The British bayonet was again successful, and caused them also to fall back. By this time the party commanded by Campbell had ascended the mountain, and renewed the attack from that eminence. Ferguson presented a new front, and was again successful; but all his exertions were unavailing. At this moment Cleveland's men, having been rallied, renewed their fire. As often as one of the American parties was driven back, another returned to its station. Ferguson's unconquerable spirit refused to surrender. However, after having repulsed a succession of adversaries, pouring in their fire from new directions, this officer received a mortal wound. No chance of escape being left, and all prospect of successful resistance being at an end, the second in command sued for quarters. The bloody conflict continued forty-seven minutes. The brave major, with 150 of his men, fell in the action; 810 including regulars, were made prisoners, 150 of whom were wounded; the remainder about 440 escaped. The whole number of British regulars was short of an hundred. The Americans took 1500 stand of arms. Their loss of men killed in the field was only about twenty; but they had a great many wounded. That distinguished militia officer, who has been repeatedly mentioned, Col. Williams, was mortally wounded.

Major Ferguson was overseen in making his stand on the mountain, which being much covered with woods, gave the militia who were all riflemen, the opportunity of approaching near with greater safety to themselves, than if they had been upon plain open ground. The major however might have made good his retreat, if not with the whole, at least with a great part of his men, had he pursued his march immediately upon his charging and driving the first detachment; for though the militia acted with spirit for undisciplined troops, it was with difficulty that they could be prevailed upon to renew their attack, after being charged with the bayonet. They kept aloof, and continued popping: then gathered round, and crept nearer, till at length they levelled the major with one of their shot.

Ten of the men who had surrendered were hanged by the conquerors. Col. Cleveland had early given out, that if he caught certain persons, who had forfeited their lives by the laws of the land, he would execute them. Among those whom he doomed to execution was a militia officer, who had taken a British commission, though he had before been in the service of the State. The British officers finding what was to be the fate of the party, would have remonstrated. The colonel cut them short with—"Gentlemen you are British officers and shall be treated accord-

accordingly : therefore give your paroles, and march off immediately : the other person is a subject of the state." The spirited mountaineers having demolished their enemy returned home.

Lord Cornwallis was so confident of the success of his schemes that he did not wait the arrival of Major Ferguson at Charlotte ; but advanced toward Salisbury, and obliged the militia for security to cross the Yadkin and take post on its north bank : he was deliberately however in his march. He halted short of Salisbury ; and upon hearing of Major Ferguson's fate, faced about and returned to Charlotte. About the 14th October, he retreated to Wyncborough. This was the more needful, as Major Davie's corps being greatly increased, frequently entercepted his lordship's foraging parties and convoys. Riflemen also often penetrated near his camp, and from behind trees took care to make sure of their object. Thus the late conquerors found their situation very uneasy, being exposed to unseen danger if they attempted to make an excursion of only a few hundred yards from their encampment. As his lordship retired, the militia took several waggons, loaded with stores and the knapsacks of the light infantry and legion, and single men repeatedly rode up within gun shot of his army, discharged their pieces, and made their escape.

On the 10th of November, Lord Cornwallis wrote to General Smallwood—" I must now observe, that the cruelty exercised on the prisoners taken under Major Ferguson is shocking to humanity ; and the hanging poor old Col. Mills, who was always a fair and open enemy to your cause, was an act of the most savage barbarity. It has also been reported to me, that Capt. Oates of Col. Gray's militia, who was taken near the Peedee, was lately put to death without any crime being laid to his charge. From the character which I have heard of you, Sir, I cannot suppose that you can approve of these most cruel murders : but I hope you will see the necessity of interposing your authority to stop this bloody scene, which must oblige me in justice to the suffering loyalists, to retaliate on the unfortunate persons now in my power.—I am not conscious, that any persons have hitherto been executed by us, unless for bearing arms, after having given a military parole to remain quietly at home ; or for enrolling themselves voluntarily in our militia, receiving arms and ammunition from the king's store, and taking the first opportunity of joining our enemies. The only persons who were hanged at Camden, after the action of the 16th and 18th, except some deserters from our army, were two or three of the latter description, who were  
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picked out from about thirty convicted of the like offence, on account of some particular aggravating circumstances which attended their case." Notwithstanding it was manifest, that there was a powerful party in the state, which was determined to oppose the establishing of royal government; yet to convince the inhabitants, that the British were seriously resolved to remove from the country all who refused to become subjects, a further number of twenty-two citizens, who still remained prisoners on parole, was shipped off about the 16th of November for St. Augustine, to whom were added Gen. Rutherford and Col. Isaacs of North Carolina, who were taken near Camden in August. These were treated with more politeness than the first set. The only charge exhibited against them, as the reason of their exile was, that "they discovered no disposition to return to their allegiance, and would, if in their power, overturn the British government."

Gen. Gates wrote to the president of Congress [Oct. 16.]—"The enemy have, so far, the worst of the campaign, having lost considerably more men, officers and arms, than your army; and even lost ground, as they had several posts at the beginning of the campaign on Pee Dee, all which are now evacuated." General Smallwood having left Hillsborough to take the command at Salisbury, the command of the brigade at the first place devolved on Col. Williams; officers and soldiers were impatient for taking the field: every exertion was used; and the clothing being wrought up, old suits mended, and the blankets proportionably distributed, report thereof was made to head quarters; when the general gave orders for the brigade to march on the 2d of November, with the artillery, ammunition and baggage, under the command of Col. Otho H. Williams. On the 8th the troops reached Salisbury, having marched 100 miles in less than eight days, upon three pounds and an half of Indian meal per man and some beef. Having no tents, they were fortunate in a succession of fine days, till the fourth after their arrival. Gates had now done every thing in his power to repair the injuries of his defeat; and was endeavoring to recover as much territory to the United States, as the circumstances of the war in the southern department would admit of, when he received advice from some of his friends, but from no one officially, that Congress had appointed an officer to supersede him, and had ordered a court of inquiry to be held on his conduct. He had even a very polite friendly letter from the president of a later date than those which brought the information. This treatment by Congress was neither liberal nor candid. And yet severe as it seemed to be, both in the manner and matter, it

was not the most painful stroke that the unfortunate general had to suffer at that period. His friends had cautiously kept from him for some time the knowledge of the death of his son—an only child, an amiable youth of about nineteen, whose natural genius, improved by education, promised service to his country and honor to his family. Amid the general's other trials, this came suddenly upon him. He bore all with a firmness that would reflect credit on the most philosophic mind; and notwithstanding the indelicacy with which he thought himself treated, he continued to do all he could to promote the interest of the cause in which he was engaged. He remained at Hillsborough a day or two, to give an account of the measures he had taken and was about to take, to retrieve the lost country; then went on to the camp at Salisbury, where he arrived on the 11th November with about 130 dragoons; and had the pleasure of hearing within four days of Gen. Sumpter's success.

Sumpter, after the dispersion of his force on the 18th of August, collected a corps of volunteers, and received such occasional reinforcements, as enabled him to keep the field, though there was no continental army in South Carolina for three months. He varied his position from time to time, and had frequent skirmishes with his adversaries. Having mounted his followers, he infested the British, beat up their quarters, intercepted their convoys, and so harassed them with successive alarms, that their movements could not be made but with caution and difficulty. On the 12th he was attacked at Broad river by Major Weyms, commanding a corps of infantry and dragoons. In this action the British were defeated, and the Major taken prisoner, having had his thigh broken. Though he had deliberately hung Mr. Cusack in Cheraw district, and had in his pocket a memorandum of several houses burned by his command, yet he received every indulgence from his conquerors. Gen. Sumpter was afterwards attacked on the 20th by Lieut. Col. Tarleton. Sumpter being apprized of Tarleton's approach, possessed himself of a strong post on Black Stock's hill, close to Tyger river. Tarleton without waiting for the rest of his detachment, directed a precipitate attack with 170 dragoons and 80 men of the 63d regiment, to that part of the hill which was nearly perpendicular, with a small rivulet, brush wood, and a railed fence in front. A considerable division of Sumpter's force had been thrown into a large log barn, from which the men fired with security, as the apertures between the logs served them for loop holes. British valor was conspicuous upon this occasion; but no valor could surmount the obstacles and disadvantages that here stood in its way. The 63d was  
roughly



roughly handled; the commanding officer, two others, with one third of their privates fell. Tarleton observing their situation, charged with his cavalry: unable to dislodge the enemy either from the log barn or the height on his left, he was obliged to fall back. Lieut. Skinner, attached to the cavalry, covered the retreat of the 63d. In this manner did the whole party continue to retire (till they formed a junction with their infantry, who were advancing to sustain them) leaving Sumpter in quiet possession of the field. The general occupied the hill for several hours; but having received a bad wound, and knowing that the British would be reinforced the next morning, he thought it hazardous to wait. He accordingly retired, and taking his wounded men with him, crossed the Tyger. His loss was very small. The wounded of the British detachment were left to his mercy. The strictest humanity was exercised towards them and they were supplied with every comfort in his power.\*

General Gates moved his head quarters to Charlotte; Gen. Smallwood with the militia, encamped below at Providence on the way to Camden; and the light troops under Morgan (raised by Congress the 13th of October to the rank of a brigadier general, upon the repeated recommendation of Gates) were further advanced on that route. Gates ordered huts to be built in regular encampment, apprehending that the winter would be too severe a season for military operations in that latitude. Such was the situation of the southern army when Gen. Greene arrived at Charlotte the 2d of December; and delivered to Gates the *first official* information of his removal from the command—in so unceremonious a manner was he treated! The army was surrendered into Green's hands agreeably to the orders of Congress, in the following terms the next day—"Head Quarters, Charlotte, 2d December 1780. Parole Springfield—Counter-sign Green. The Honorable Major General Green, who arrived yesterday afternoon in Charlotte, being appointed by his Excellency General Washington, with the approbation of the honorable Congress, to the command of the southern army, all orders will for the future issue from him, and all reports are to be made to him."

"General Gates returns his sincere and grateful thanks to the southern army for their perseverance, fortitude, and patient endurance of all the hardships and sufferings they have undergone while under his command. He anxiously hopes their misfortunes will cease therewith; and that victory and the glorious advantages attending it may be the future portion of the southern army."

Gen.

\* See Lieutenant Mackenzie's Structures on Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton's History, p. 71-77.

Gen. Greene, on the 4th of December, dignified his general orders with this graceful expression—"General Greene returns his thanks to the honorable Major General Gates for the polite manner in which he has introduced him to his command in the orders of yesterday, and for his good wishes for the success of the southern army." The manly resignation of Gates on the one part, and the delicate disinterestedness of Greene on the other, prevented the embarrassments naturally to be apprehended on such an occasion. The latter approved and perpetuated the standing orders of the former, and, treated him with that candid respect which testified his remembrance of the past services of that officer.

A few hours after Greene took the command of the army, a report was made to Gates of a foraging by the light troops under Morgan toward Camden. After collecting what the enemy had spared for further occasions in the vicinity of Clermont, that post was reconnoitred by the cavalry only. Lieut. Col. Washington saw that it was fortified by a blockhouse impenetrable to small arms, and encompassed by an abatis. Its vicinity to Camden, from whence it might be speedily succoured, rendered a siege ineligible. Recourse was had to stratagem. He advanced his cavalry in such a direction as to show his front without discovering his rear; and dismounting some of his men, planted the trunk of a pine tree upon some of its branches so pointedly like a field piece, that it actually intimidated the garrison. A corporal of dragoons was ordered to ride up, and summon the commanding officer, Lieut. Col. Rugeley, to surrender. The lucky moment was seized on, and the order obeyed with confidence. The garrison of upward of one hundred officers and soldiers, surrendered at discretion without a shot, and the works were demolished. This favorable incident, in the juncture of affairs then existing, through the little superstition to which every man is subject, was viewed by the army as an omen of success under the new commander.

It was on the 5th of October, that congress resolved that the commander in chief order a court of inquiry to be held on the conduct of Gen. Gates.—though unaccused of any military crime. This resolve was grounded on a former resolve, that whoever lost a post should be subject to a court of enquiry. Had that resolve been, that every commanding officer who does not beat the enemy, shall be recalled and subjected to a court of inquiry, whether or no any crime be laid to his charge, Gates might have submitted to his fate with as much patience, as officers who surrender a fort or lose a ship. But he had reason to complain, that congress, by their special resolve of the 5th, doomed him to tempo-



rary disesteem and loss of confidence. Gen. Washington was ordered to appoint another officer to the command of the southern army. On the 6th he received a line from a South Carolina delegate, acquainting him, that he was authorized by the delegates of the three southern states to communicate to his excellency their wish, that Gen. Greene might be the person. He was fixed upon; not from the influence of their wish, but from the opinion the commander in chief entertained of him, as being the most suited to the service; when reported to congress he was approved of by them on the 30th. Greene, before he set out, expressed his disapprobation of their passing censure upon Gates by removing him, as what tended to take away an officer's character; which injury could not be repaired, even by an acquittal after examination. He added in the conversation with a brother general—"I should be very well satisfied to serve under Gates." He duly weighed all the circumstances attending Gates's situation, and formed an opinion very different from that which occasioned his recall; and as he travelled on to Hillsborough, generously represented the same and the reasons for it, to those persons he fell into company with, who were blindly led away, by having only considered events. Greene found the country through which he passed, so fully disaffected to the American interests and in favor of the British, that he was not without apprehension for his personal safety, ere he could join the army. Here we take our leave of him for the present, and proceed to mention some of the proceedings and acts of Congress.

You have met with various charges against Dr. Shippen.—When Congress had the last year expressed their satisfaction with Dr. Morgan's conduct, the last charged the former with mal-practices and misconduct in office. The charges were transmitted to the commander in chief; and a court martial ensued. When the proceedings of the latter were before Congress in August, a motion was made to insert after W. Shippen, these words—"Excepting that part of the second charge relating to his speculating in hospital stores, on which the court judge him highly reprehensible"—it was rejected; and it was resolved—"That the court martial having acquitted the said Dr. Shippen, ordered that he be discharged from arrest." The day after that extraordinary resolve respecting Gen. Gates, they re-elected the doctor director general of the hospital. On the 6th of September they recommended to the several states claiming the western country, to pass such laws, and give their delegates such powers as might effectually remove the only obstacle to a final ratification of the articles of confederation; and then resolved, "that the

the legislature of Maryland be earnestly requested to authorize their delegates in Congress to subscribe the articles." In the beginning of October they resolved, "that the unappropriated lands that may be ceded to the United States, be disposed of for the common benefit of the United States, to be settled and formed into district republican states." About the same time they published, that the 11th and 12th articles of the treaty of amity and commerce with France were expunged and suppressed the 14th of September, 1778, agreeable to their desire. The articles annulled were as follows—article the 11th. It is agreed and concluded, that there shall never be any duty imposed on the exportation of the molasses that may be taken by the subjects of any of the United States, from the islands of America, which belong or may hereafter appertain to his most Christian Majesty:—article the 12th. In compensation of the exemption stipulated by the preceding article, it is agreed and concluded, that there shall never be any duties imposed on the exportation of any kind of merchandise, which the subjects of his most Christian Majesty may take from the countries and possessions, present or future, of any of the Thirteen United States, for the use of the islands which shall furnish molasses. On the 6th of October the president wrote a circular letter to the several states, in which, among other matters—"It is recommended to the states, in the most pressing manner, to have their regiments completed, and in the field, by the first day of January next at furthest." On the 16th Congress resolved, "that the thanks of Congress be given to brigadiers Smallwood and Gist, and to the officers of the Maryland and Delaware lines, the different corps of artillery, Col. Porterfield's and Major Armstrong's corps of light infantry, and Col. Armand's cavalry, for their bravery and good conduct displayed in the action of the 16th of August." These thanks were not applicable to all with equal propriety. The implied censure cast upon Gates in the formation of the resolve and its total silence concerning him, was a stigma that he ought not to have received, until he had been adjudged to have deserved it, putting all former services out of the question. It has been observed, that after the disaster near Camden, whenever Congress published the successes and various operations of the troops, which he commanded, they scarcely even mentioned his name; whether such omissions were accidental or intended, his character was much injured by them. On the 21st Congress agreed, that the officers who continued in the service to the end of the war, should be entitled to half pay during life. At the end of the month Baron Steuben was ordered to repair to the southern department; and Major Lee's corps



to proceed immediately to join the southern army. A few days after they promoted the major to the rank of lieutenant colonel. We now turn to view the scenes northward of Philadelphia.

General Washington's difficulties continued. He wrote from Orange-town on the 20th of August, to Joseph Reed, Esq. whose name has so often occurred in different departments, and who is now president or governor of Pennsylvania—"With every exertion, I can scarcely keep the army in this camp, entirely continental, fed from day to day. 'Tis mortifying, that we should not at this advanced period of the campaign, have magazines of provision for even one half of the men necessary for our intended operations. I have every assurance from the French land and sea commanders, that the second division may, without some very unexpected accident, be daily expected. Should we, upon the arrival of this reinforcement, be found (after all our promises of a co-operating force) deficient in men, provision, and every other essential, your excellency can easily perceive what will be the opinion of our allies, and of all the world, and what will be the consequences in the deranged distracted state of our affairs." In another of the same date were these sentiments—"To me it will appear miraculous if our affairs can maintain themselves much longer in their present train. If either the temper or the resources of the country will not admit of an alteration, we may expect soon to be reduced to the humiliating condition of seeing the cause of America upheld in America by foreign arms. It may easily be shown, that all the misfortunes we have met with in the military line are to be attributed to short inlistments. A great part of the embarrassments in the civil flow from the same source. The derangement of our finances is essentially to be ascribed to it. The expences of the war, and the paper emissions, have been greatly multiplied by it. We have had a great part of the time two sets of men to feed and pay, the discharged men going home, and the levies coming in. The difficulties and cost of engaging men have increased at every successive attempt, till among the present levies, we find there are some who have received a hundred and fifty dollars in specie [33l 15s. sterling] for five months service, while our officers are reduced to the disgraceful necessity of performing the duties of drill sergeants to them. The frequent calls upon the militia have also interrupted the cultivation of their lands; and of course have lessened the quantity of the produce, occasioned a scarcity, and enhanced the prices. In an army so unstable as ours, order and economy have been impracticable.—The discontents of the troops have been gradually matured to a dangerous extremity.

Something

Something satisfactory must be done, or the army must cease to exist at the end of the campaign : or it will exhibit an example of more virtue, fortitude, self denial and perseverance, than has perhaps ever been paralleled in the history of human enthusiasm.

General Washington, in compliance with a prior appointment, set out with his suite, Gen. Knox and the Marquis de la Fayette, to meet Count de Rochambeau and Admiral Ternay at Hartford. The general with the rest of the company mustered up and borrowed all the money they could, in order to pay their expences. They could procure no more than eight thousand paper dollars. Such was the scarcity even of that depreciated commodity at camp. Before they quitted the New-York state, they had expended more than half their stock ; and were not a little pained with the idea of their being soon incapable of discharging the landlord's demand. They put on a good countenance when in Connecticut ; called for what they wanted, and were well supplied : but the thought of reckoning with their host damped their pleasure. However to their great joy, when the bills were called for, they were informed, that the governor of Connecticut had given orders, that they should pay nothing in that state, but should be at free cost. They met the French general and admiral on Thursday the 21st of September at the place appointed. Gen. Washington in his conference with the count, stated the army, in the quarter he commanded, for the next campaign, at fifteen thousand operative continental troops. On the idea of 15,000, a memorial with a plan of the next campaign has been transmitted to the court of France. On Friday morning Count de Rochambeau and Adm. Ternay set off on their return to Newport, and on Saturday morning the American gentlemen commenced their return to the camp. During their absence a discovery of the utmost importance had been made, viz. a scheme for delivering West Point into the hands of Sir Henry Clinton. Gen. Arnold, who had the command of that post, was brave but mercenary, fond of parade and extremely desirous of acquiring money to defray the expences of it. When he entered Philadelphia after the evacuation, he made Gov. Penn's, the best house in it, his head quarters.

This he furnished in a very costly manner, and lived in a stile far beyond his income. He continued his extravagant course of living ; was unsuccessful in trade and privateering ; his funds were exhausted, and his creditors importunate, while his lust for high life was not in the least assuaged. About July, 1779, he exhibited heavy accounts and demands against the public : the commissioners, upon examination, rejected about one half of the amount.



amount. He appealed to Congress, and a committee was appointed, who were of opinion, that the commissioners had allowed more than the general had a right to expect or demand. This provoked him to outrageous expressions and proceedings. Disgusted at the treatment he had met with, embarrassed in his circumstances, and having a growing expensive family, he turned his thoughts toward bettering his fortune by new means. Major Andre adjutant general to the British army, a rising young officer of great hope and merit, had commenced a correspondence with Mrs. Arnold in 1779, under the plea of supplying her with military : whether it was continued and covertly improved by the general, without her being in the least privy to it, till ripened into the scheme of giving up West-Point, is not yet ascertained. But the design is generally thought to have been sometime in agitation.

For the speedy completion of the negotiation that was carrying on between Sir Henry and Gen. Arnold, the Vulture sloop of war was stationed in the North River, at such a distance from the American posts, as without exciting suspicion, would serve for the necessary communication. Before this, a written correspondence, through other channels, had been maintained between Arnold and Andre at New-York, under the names of Gustavus and Anderson. The necessary arrangements being made, a boat was sent at night from the shore to the Vulture to fetch Major Andre, which brought him to the beach without the posts of either army, where he met Arnold. Day light approaching, he was told that he must be concealed until the next night. In order to it, he was conducted within one of the American posts, against his previous stipulation, intention and knowledge. He continued with Arnold during the following day. The next night the boatmen refusing to conduct him back to the Vulture, which had shifted her position, as she lay exposed to the fire of a cannon sent to annoy her, he was obliged to concert his escape by land. He quitted his uniform, which he had hitherto worn under a furtout, for a common coat; and was furnished with a horse, and under the name of John Anderson with a passport from Arnold, to go to the lines at White Plains, or lower if he thought proper, he being on public business. He pursued his journey alone to New-York, passed all the guards and posts on the road without suspicion, and was much elated as he travelled on the next day, with the thought of his having succeeded. But unhappily for him, though providentially for the Americans, three of the New-York militia, *John Paulding*, *David Williams*, and *Isaac Van Vert*, were with others out on scouting

between the out-posts of the two armies. One of them sprang from his covert, and seized Andre's horse by the bridle. The major, instead of instantly producing his pass, asked the man where he belonged to, who answered, *to below*. Andre suspecting no deceit said, *so do I*; then declared himself a British officer, and pressed that he might not be detained, for that he was upon urgent business. Upon the other two coming up and joining their comrade, he discovered his mistake. The confusion that followed was apparent, and they proceeded to search him till they found his papers. He offered the captors a considerable purse of gold, and a very valuable watch, to let him pass: but they nobly disdained the temptation, beside the fascinating offer of permanent provision, and even of future promotion, on condition of their conveying and accompanying him to New-York. They conducted him to Lieut. Col. Jameson, the continental officer, who had the command of the scouting parties, amounting to 800 men, chiefly militia. Arnold's conduct with regard to this body of men, and in other respects, had excited such suspicions in the breasts of the lieutenant colonel and the rest of the officers, that they had determined upon seizing the general at all adventures, had he came down and ordered them nearer the enemy. Jameson, notwithstanding his strong jealousy of Arnold, was in the issue the occasion of his escape.

When Andre appeared before him, it was under the name of Anderson; which he supported, choosing to hazard the greatest danger, rather than let any discovery be made which could involve Arnold, before he had time to provide for his safety. With a view to the general's escaping he requested that a line might be sent to acquaint him with Anderson's detention, which Jameson through an ill-judged delicacy granted. The papers, which were found in the major's boot, were in Arnold's hand writing, and contained exact returns of the state of the forces, ordnance and defences at West-Point and its dependencies, with the artillery orders, critical remarks, on the works, an estimate of the number of men that were ordinarily on duty to man them, and the copy of a state of matters that had been laid before a council of war by the commander in chief, on the sixth of the month. These papers were enclosed in a packet to Gen. Washington, accompanied with a letter from the prisoner, avowing himself to be Major John Andre, adjutant general to the British army, relating the manner of his capture, and endeavouring to show that he did not come under the description of a spy; and were forwarded by Jameson. Washington was upon his return from Hartford, and the messenger missed him by taking a different road from that on which



which the general was. Through this accident and the man's being obliged to make a circuit, the letter to Arnold, informing him of Anderson's capture, reached him some hours before Washington arrived at his quarters. No sooner had he received it, than he hastened on board the Vulture, which lay some miles below Moneys and Verplank's points. The commander in chief crossed over to West Point, and expected to meet him there: when he returned, the cause of Arnold's absence was soon discovered upon opening the packet from Jameson, which had arrived in the mean while. His excellency immediately ordered two brigades from the main army to these posts, and took ample measures for their security. Andre had been full forty-eight hours in custody, before Arnold's design was known in camp. Had it succeeded, the consequences must have been ruinous in the highest degree. The plan for delivering up the posts seems to have been that of engaging in a sham defence at the defiles, while a large body of the enemy took a circuit and possessed themselves of the fort. Arnold on the 8th of August had written to Gen. Washington, expressing, his wish that a map of the country from Robinson's house to New-York, particularly on the east side of the river, might be sent him. He added—"The Massachusetts troops [militia 1234] are good and well armed. Would it not be better to continue a part or the whole of the New-York brigade at this post [West Point] whose officers can be depended upon, and the troops have in general bad arms and few bayonets. The Massachusetts or Hampshire troops will be better in the field from this circumstance of their arms." In conversation with one of the officers under him, he asked which he thought would be the best mode of defence in case of an attack, whether to defend the works, or to go and fight the enemy in the defiles as they advanced. The officer said, to defend the works: Arnold declared for the other. These things were recollected, and supposed to have had a particular meaning, when his main project was discovered. Had the execution of it been completed, the forces under his command must probably have either laid down their arms or have been cut to pieces. Their loss and the immediate possession of West Point, and all its neighbouring dependencies, must have exposed the remainder of Washington's army so to the joint exertion of the British forces, by land and water, that nothing but final ruin could have been the result with respect to the Americans. Such a stroke could scarcely have been recovered. Independent of the loss of artillery and stores, such a destruction of their disciplined force, and many of their best officers, must have been fatal. The British might also have turned their whole force against the French

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fleet and troops at Rhode Island: for they had received a considerable naval reinforcement by the arrival of Adm. Rodney with several ships of the line from the West-Indies, on the 13th of September. Whether his coming to New-York was in the least under the influence of flattering prospects, upon West Point's being delivered into the hands of the British, will be matter of conjecture among many.

General Washington appointed a board of fourteen general officers [September 29] (of whom were the Marquis de la Fayette and Baron de Steuben) with the assistance of the judge advocate general, John Laurence, to examine into and to report a precise state of Major Andre's case; and to determine what light he was to be considered in, and to what punishment he was liable. Andre disdaining all subterfuge and evasion, and studying only to place his character in so fair a light, as might prevent its being shaded by present circumstances, voluntarily confessed more than he was asked; and sought not to palliate any thing relating to himself, while he concealed, with the most guarded and scrupulous nicety, whatever might involve others. Being interrogated by the board, with respect to his conception of coming on shore under the sanction of a flag, he said with a noble frankness of mind, that if he had, he might certainly have returned under it. The board was exceedingly struck with his candor and magnanimity; and sufficiently showed how much they felt for his situation. They treated him with such delicacy at the opening of examination, as to desire that he would not answer any interrogatory which would at all embarrass his feelings. Every possible mark of indulgence, and the utmost attention and politeness were exercised toward him: so that the major himself, deeply sensible of the liberality of their behaviour, declared that he flattered himself he had never been illiberal; but that if there were any remains of prejudice in his mind, his present experience must obliterate them. The board did not examine a single witness: but founded their report merely upon his own confession. In that, after a recital of a few facts, they declared, that Major Andre ought to be considered as a spy from the enemy; and that, agreeably to the law and usage of nations, it is their opinion he ought to suffer death.

General Washington wrote a short answer to Sir H. Clinton's letter of the 26th, reclaiming the major, in which he stated, that though the major was under such circumstances as would have justified the most summary proceedings against him, he had referred his case to the examination and decision of a board of general officers, whose report, founded on his free and voluntary confession



confession of his letters, was enclosed. This drew another letter from Sir Henry, who proposed to send Gen. Robertson and two other gentlemen, as well to give his excellency a true state of facts, as to explain to him his own sentiments on the subject. The gentlemen were to be at Dobb's ferry on the following morning, to wait for Washington's permission and safe conduct, and to meet himself, or whoever he should appoint. He urged it as a matter of the highest moment to humanity, that the general should fully understand the whole state of the business, before he proceeded to carry the judgment of the board into execution. Gen. Greene, who had been president of it, was appointed to meet Robertson, but the others were not permitted to come on shore. Robertson used his utmost ingenuity to show, that Andre did not come within the character and description of a spy. As Greene was far from admitting either his facts or conclusions, Robertson wished that the opinions of disinterested gentlemen might be taken on the subject, and proposed Knyphausen and Rochambeau as proper persons. Humanity was the last string touched. Robertson said, he wished an intercourse of such civilities as might lessen the horrors of war; and quoted instances of Clinton's merciful disposition. He held out, that Major Andre possessed a great share of that gentleman's esteem; and that he would be infinitely obliged if he was spared. He offered, if the former was admitted to return with him to New-York, to engage that any person whatever, who was named, should be set at liberty. Gen. Robertson having failed in his other attempts, presented a long letter from Arnold to Gen. Washington, filled with threats in case Andre should suffer, and insolently making the American commander answerable for the torrents of blood that might be spilt, in consequence of his disregarding the warning, and ordering the execution of Andre. The presentation of such a letter was considered as no less an absurdity than the writing of it.

On October the 2d the tragedy was closed. The major was superior to the terrors of death: but the disgraceful mode of dying, which the usage of war had annexed to his unhappy situation, was infinitely dreadful to him. He was desirous of being indulged with a professional death; and accordingly had written, the day before, a pathetic letter, fraught with all the feelings of a man of sentiment and honor, in which he requested of Gen. Washington, that he might not die on a gibbet. The general consulted his officers on the subject. Pity and esteem wrought so powerfully, that they were all for shooting him, till Greene insisted on it, that his crime was that of a common spy; that the public

public good required his being hanged; and that was he shot, the generality would think there were favorable circumstances entitling him to notice and lenity. His observations convinced them, that there would be an impropriety in granting the major's request; while tenderness prevented its being divulged. When Major Andre was led out to the place of execution, as he went along he bowed himself familiarly to all those with whom he had been acquainted in his confinement. A smile of complacency expressed the serene fortitude of his mind. Upon seeing the preparations at the fatal spot, he asked with some emotion—"Must I die in this manner?" He was told it was unavoidable. He replied—"I am reconciled to my fate, but not to the mode." Soon after, recollecting himself, he added—"It will be but a momentary pang;" and springing upon the cart, performed the last offices to himself, with a composure that excited the admiration, and melted the hearts of all the spectators. Being told the final moment was at hand, and asked if he had any thing to say, he answered—"Nothing but to request that you will witness to the world, that I die like a brave man." He died universally esteemed and regretted. The sympathy he had excited in the American army was perhaps unexampled, under any similar circumstances.

General Washington thus expressed himself upon this whole business in a private letter [Oct. 13.]—"In no instance since the commencement of the war, has the interposition of Providence appeared more remarkably conspicuous, than in the rescue of the post and garrison of West Point.

How far Arnold meant to involve me in the catastrophe of this place, does not appear by any indubitable evidence; and I am rather inclined to think, he did not wish to hazard the more important object, by attempting to combine two events, the lesser of which might have marred the greater. A combination of extraordinary circumstances, and unaccountable deprivation of presence of mind in a man of the first abilities, and the virtue of three militia men, threw the adjutant general of the British forces (with full proof of Arnold's intention) into our hands; and but for the egregious folly, or the bewildered conception of Lieut. Col. Jameson, who seemed lost in astonishment, and not to have known what he was doing, I should undoubtedly have gotten Arnold. Andre has met his fate, and with that fortitude which was to be expected from an accomplished man and a gallant officer: but I am mistaken if Arnold is not undergoing at *this* time, the torments of a mental hell." The unhappy event of which Arnold's project was productive, the death of Major Andre, deeply affected the whole



whole royal army. Arnold was made a British brigadier general in America: and it was hoped, that with the aid of the loyalists and the discontented of all sorts, he would raise a considerable body of forces, to act under his own separate command: but neither an address of his to the inhabitants of America, nor his proclamation inscribed to the officers and soldiers of the continental army, had any effect. Notwithstanding the discontents among the American troops, through their various difficulties, Arnold's example and endeavours were so far from being the means of bringing over, even a small body or detachment, that they do not appear to have produced the desertion of a single soldier, much less of an officer.

Sir Henry Clinton in obedience to the orders sent him [October 15] to prosecute the war with vigor in North Carolina and Virginia, dispatched Gen. Leslie from New-York to the bay of Chesapeake, with near 3000 choice troops. He was to co-operate with Lord Cornwallis, who was expected to have been far advanced toward, if not to have reached Virginia. Within a few days the fleet arrived in the bay. The troops were landed in different parts of Virginia. In the beginning of November, Leslie was engaged in establishing a post at Portsmouth, till he could hear from his lordship, according to whose orders he was to act in all cases. It was some time before he learned for a certainty where Cornwallis was: but at length instructions were received from his lordship, for the fleet and troops to proceed without delay to Charlestown. While in Virginia they possessed themselves of some tobacco and stores; but the vessels seized in the harbours and rivers were the most valuable part of the booty. About the time that Leslie landed at Portsmouth, Sir H. Clinton sent to Charlestown all the recruits belonging to the southern army, amounting to near 800, which he reckoned would place under Cornwallis's orders full 11,306 effective rank and file, including Leslie's corps.

General Washington made a proposition to Sir H. Clinton for the exchange of a number of officers, which was not acceded to. A general exchange being what the other sincerely wished, a proposition to that purpose was returned. The British General Phillips, and the American General Lincoln, were employed for the settling of a cartel. The former supposed, that the reason why the Americans declined the exchange of privates, was an unwillingness to throw into the hands of their enemy, in the middle of an active campaign, such a reinforcement as they would receive by an exchange of all the privates. To obviate this difficulty, Phillips mentioned, that the exchange of the privates might

might be postponed to some future day that might be agreed on Lincoln, on the 25th of September, expressed his desire in writing, that this might remove the objections which had existed against an exchange of privates. He wrote on October the 1st to the Massachusetts and South Carolina delegates, and to Gen. Sullivan, now one of the New Hampshire representatives in Congress—"The enemy have made a proposition for a general exchange. I think policy, justice and humanity demand it on our part. I cannot but hope you will be with me in opinion: if so the proposition will have your support and interest." At length an exchange of all officers, prisoners of war, on both sides, including such as were upon their paroles in New York or in Great Britain, was settled. The exchange comprehended also an equivalent of British and German soldiers, prisoners of war, for those Americans that were at New York. In the course of the negotiation, an ineffectual effort was made on the part of the British for the release of the privates of the convention troops.

On the 3d of November it was resolved, "That Congress have a high sense of the virtuous and patriotic conduct of *John Paulding*, *David Williams*, and *Isaac Van Vert*: in testimony whereof, ordered, that each of them receive annually two hundred dollars in specie, or an equivalent in the current money of these states during life; and that the board of war be directed to procure for each of them a silver medal, on one side of which shall be a shield with this inscription FIDELITY, and on the other the following motto, VINCIT AMOR PATRIÆ, and forward them to the commander in chief, who is requested to present the same, with a copy of this resolution, and the thanks of Congress for their fidelity, and the eminent service they have rendered their country." The next day they recommended to the several states, to levy a tax equal to six millions of silver dollars; to be paid partly in specific articles, and the residue in gold or silver, or bills of credit, emitted pursuant to the resolution of the 18th of March last. On the 28th, they had before them an account of Major Talmadge of the light dragoons, having surprised and taken fort St. George on Long Island, with the garrison; they extolled the enterprise as planned and conducted with wisdom and great gallantry; and executed with intrepidity and complete success by the officers and soldiers of his detachment. Such commendations not only reward, but excite to military adventures. The major crossed the sound to the island with 80 men; left 20 to guard the boats; made a circuitous route of 20 miles to the fort, and reduced it almost instantly. The enemy had 8 killed and wounded. He captivated 1 lieut. colonel, 1 captain,

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tain, and 55 privates; destroyed 400 tons of hay, and returned without further loss than one private wounded. Congress have at length determined upon having a permanent army. They ought before to have gotten rid of an error, which the experience of all mankind has explored, viz. the carrying on a war with militia, or which is nearly the same, temporary levies. America has been amused almost out of her liberties. The behavior of the militia upon one and another occasion, has been unreasonably extolled, by men who judge only from the surface, by others who had particular views in misrepresenting, and by visionary men whose credulity easily swallowed every vague story, in support of a favorite hypothesis. Some of the first generals in the American service, are ready solemnly to declare, that they never were witnesses to a single instance during this contest, that can countenance an opinion of militia or raw troops being fit for the *real business of fighting*. How little dependence can be had upon supplies by new levies, the last campaign may serve to show.

By a return on the 16th of August it appeared, that General Washington had received from New Hampshire to Pennsylvania inclusive, no more than 6,143; and that the deficiency within the same circuit was 10,397. Rhode Island was the least deficient in proportion to its numbers, and Pennsylvania the most. Massachusetts had in the army double the number of any other of the states north of Maryland. What few troops the general had with him, pleased him however by the rapid progress they made in military discipline.

The absolute necessity of a large and immediate foreign aid of money, for the continuance of the war, came at length under the serious consideration of Congress. Gen. Washington was so strongly convinced of its being an object of the utmost importance, that he gave his sentiments upon it to the minister of France in the most explicit manner. The recommendations of Congress for specific articles were not sufficiently operative. On the 9th of December the general said—"It is happy for us, that the season will probably compel both armies to continue in a state of inactivity, since ours is so much reduced by discharging the levies which compose a considerable part of it, even before their time of service was expired. This expedient we were forced to adopt, from the present total want of flour, and the precarious prospect of a supply of that article." Had it not been for a most vigorous step that the American Gov. Clinton ventured to take, the army must have disbanded for want of bread, as the magazines were exhausted, and transportation by land was impracticable.

ble had there been any thing to act upon. The governor seized several hundred barrels in the hands of private merchants, which they had purchased up to exchange for other articles. General Washington, while travelling in the neighbourhood of Pitts Town, fell in with a parcel of cattle that were going to be slaughtered and salted. Beside being immensely poor, they were so small, that they would not average 175 lbs. the nett quarters. Some could not exceed a hundred weight, and others were mere calves. These pass by the head, and the state or states that furnish them will have the reputation of supplying that number of merchantable bullocks, when the fact is, that next summer a starving man would scarcely eat the beef they were about to put up, after the salt had extracted the little fat and juices that were in it. The general saw about a hundred, and his information extended to about 800 more of the same kind in the neighbourhood. He directed the commissary to select the best for salting, and to let the other be eaten, as it would be a waste of salt, barrels and time, to put the same up. Many other instances of a similar imposition to what has been related might be given.\*

The generous exertions of the American daughters of liberty in Philadelphia and the neighbourhood, to befriend the continental soldiers, are a perfect contrast to it. Mention was made of them in my last letter. Their donations purchased a sufficient quantity of cloth, and their hands made the same into two thousand one hundred and seven shirts, which were delivered to the person appointed to receive them by Gen. Washington. Pennsylvania furnished the whole quantity, except seventy-seven, which were the produce of the Jerseys. The daughters of this last state made a further present of three hundred and eighty pair of stockings.†

The board of royal refugees at New York have for many months back possessed something like a fleet of small privateers and cruisers; by the aid of which they have committed various depredations, and great excesses in different places, from peculiar personal animosity; and thereby have irritated their adversaries to retaliate in like manner. Thus the feelings of humanity have been suspended on both sides; scenes of waste and havock have followed; and a predatory war been carried on, tending neither to subjugation nor reconciliation, but the reverse. While these have been the operations upon the maritime coasts of the continent, the back settlements and inland frontiers have been ravaged by the inimical Indians, their tory associates, and a number of British.

\* The general's letter of Dec. 26, 1780. † The general's papers.



British regulars. The New York state suffered the most, by parties under Major Carleton, Sir John Johnson, and Capt. Brandt. In the beginning of August, they burnt more than 50 houses and 17 barns; the principal part of Canajohary, a fine settlement about fifty six miles from Albany. They destroyed 27 houses at Schoharie; and at Norman's Creek 20. In October their rraptions were renewed. Stone Arabia and Canaghstoraga were attacked, and Schoharie afresh; and a great extent of country about the Mohawk river was laid waste. A number of the settlers were killed and more made prisoners. Sir John Johnson was obliged to fight them repeatedly; but was careful, Indian like, not to stay long enough in any one place, to admit of his enemy's collecting a sufficient force to bring on a decisive action. My next will most probably contain an account of depredations in another quarter, as Gen. Arnold sailed from Sandy Hook on the 21st of December, with a body of troops under his command in an expedition.

October the 5th, the Massachusetts general court adjourned. The last act they passed was—"An act to incorporate an academy in the town of Andover, by the name of *Phillips's* academy." To business requiring another meeting, they ceased of course. The Wednesday three weeks, the 25th of that month, was the day appointed for the general election agreeable to the new constitution. It was ushered in by the ringing of bells, firing of cannon, and other demonstrations of the public rejoicing. When the two houses were formed, a committee was appointed to examine the returns of the several towns for a governor, though it was before known on whom the choice had fallen. They reported that his excellency John Hancock, Esq. was elected governor by a great majority of votes. A committee of both houses waited upon him to inform him of it, and request his attendance at the council chamber. After he had gone through all the formalities required to qualify him for his office, the secretary, from the balcony of the state-house, declared, to the attending crowds in the street, his excellency John Hancock, Esq. Governor of the Massachusetts' commonwealth, which was repeated by the sheriff of the county of Suffolk. A grand feu de joie was given by the militia companies. Thirteen cannon were fired by the artillery, and three volleys by the independent company. The cannon at the Castle and Fort Hill, and on board the shipping in the harbour were fired upon the occasion. The governor, senate and house of representatives, then attended divine service, agreeable to ancient established custom, at the Old Brick Meeting-house. The Rev. Dr. Samuel Cooper delivered a suitable and acceptable

acceptable discourse from the following words in the 30th of Jeremiah—"And their congregation shall be established; and their nobles shall be of themselves; and their governor shall proceed out of the midst of them." When service was finished, they proceeded to Faneuil-hall, amidst a great concourse of people, where an elegant entertainment was provided, and a large number of respectable gentlemen of all orders assembled. In the course of the convivial meeting, thirteen toasts were drank, each being accompanied with the firing of a cannon. No gentleman being elected lieut. governor by the majority of the people, the senate and house on the 30th, made choice of James Bowdoin, Esq. who declined the honor partly on account of his not being chosen by the votes of the freemen, but chiefly because of his continued ill state of health. The next person fixed upon was the president of the council, Thomas Cushing, Esq. who accepted.

On the 18th of December died at Newport, his Excellency Charles Louis De Ternay, knight of St. John of Jerusalem, late governor of the islands of France and Bourbon, and chief commander of the French Squadron in the American seas. His remains were the next day interred in Trinity church-yard of said town; attended with military honors.

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## L E T T E R V.

*Rotterdam, December 30, 1780.*

FRIEND GORDON,

**M**Y former letter mentioned the sailing of a large Spanish fleet under Don Joseph Solano. Capt. Mann of the Cerberus frigate, falling in with it, and rightly judging of its destination, from the course it steered and other circumstances, considered with great propriety, that the public good and the importance of the object should supply the defect of particular orders, and that the limited design of his cruise could not compare with the immediate application of the knowledge he had accidentally acquired. The captain therefore instantly proceeded to the West Indies, to communicate the intelligence to Sir George Rodney, then at Barbadoes. Upon receiving it, Sir George used the ut-

most



most diligence in putting to sea, in order to intercept the Spanish fleet and convoy before they could join the French, then in Fort Royal bay Martinico. But his views were frustrated through the precaution of the Spanish admiral. Don Solano, apprehensive though not informed of the danger, instead of proceeding to Fort Royal bay, prudently stopped short on his approach to the nearest islands; and dispatched a frigate to inform Count de Guichen of his situation, and to require a speedy junction of the fleets where he then was. The French commander sailed directly, [June 10.] with 18 ships of the line, and keeping close to leeward of the islands, joined the Spaniards under Dominique.

The combined fleets amounted to 36 sail of the line, which with their united land forces, formed such an apparent superiority, as nothing in those seas or islands seemed capable of resisting. But the Spanish troops being too much crowded on board their transports, together with the length of the voyage, the change of climate and diet, and other circumstances, a most mortal and contagious disorder was generated, which first infected their own seamen, at length spread, though not entirely with so fatal an effect, through the French fleet and land forces. Beside the great mortality on the passage, the Spaniards landed no less than 1200 sick on their first arrival at Dominique, and a much greater number afterward at Guadaloupe and Martinico. Thus the spirit of enterprise was damped, and some part of the means taken away. Still the combined forces had a sufficient superiority to enable them to proceed to offensive operations with the prospect of success. Sir George Rodney on the junction of the enemies fleets retired to St. Lucie, where he was equally well situated, either for observing their motions and counteracting, according to his ability, their designs on the other islands; or for self-defence should they venture upon an attack. But they remained totally inactive in Fort Royal bay till the 5th of July, when they put to sea in the night, without making signals or showing lights. Had they improved their opportunity, Jamaica must undoubtedly have fallen; but a misunderstanding between the Spanish and French admirals, rendered their junction and superiority of little importance. Count de Guichen accompanied Don Solano as far as St. Domingo, and then left the Spanish fleet to proceed singly to the Havannah, while he with the French put in at Cape Francois. Here he remained till a large convoy was collected from the French islands, with which he proceeded directly for Europe. Sir George Rodney, entertaining a mistaken apprehension either from his own conjecture or from information, that de Guichen was bound to North America in order to join Adm. Ternay at Rhode

Rhode Island, had no sooner received certain intelligence of his departure from Cape Francois, than he sailed himself with eleven capital ships and four frigates for New York.

The combined fleets in the European seas have been more successful. A rich and considerable convoy for the East and West Indies sailed from Portsmouth in the latter end of July, under the conduct of Capt. Moutray of the *Ramillies* and two frigates: the whole were intercepted on the 9th of August by the combined fleets under Don Louis de Cordova. The convoy included, beside the merchantmen, eighteen victuallers, store-ships and transports, destined for the service in the West Indies. Five East Indiamen made a part of it, and together with arms, ammunition, and a train of artillery, conveyed a large quantity of naval stores, for the supply of the British Squadron in that quarter. The East India and fifty West India ships, including those upon governmental account, were taken. The *Ramillies*, with the frigates, and a few West India ships escaped. Such a prize never before entered the harbour of Cadiz. A British fleet of near 60 ships led captive by a Spanish Squadron, was extremely flattering to a people, to whom naval captures from such an enemy were an unusual spectacle. The appearance of the numerous prisoners rendered the triumph more complete, and made the sight still more singular. They consisted of 1250 seamen, officers included; of 1255 soldiers, and 74 officers; of 149 women; and of 137 passengers of both sexes, among whom were some married and unmarried ladies of condition. The whole amounted to 2865 persons. The value of the saleable commodities was great, but the loss of the military and naval supplies was much more considerable, as they could not be replaced in time. Advantageous purchases will undoubtedly be made out of this capture for the service of the American army.

The strong appearances of an approaching storm, with which administration was threatened, having subsided; and every thing going on smoothly and prosperously, there was reason to expect that elections for a new parliament would go greatly in favor of the court. A dissolution of the present was therefore determined upon; [Sept. 1.] but the design was kept a profound secret.—When the proclamation for the dissolving of it appeared, it wrought like a thunder clap, with respect to suddenness and surprise, on those who were unacquainted with the design. A new prorogation had taken place within a few days, which served to render the shock still more unexpected. The elections went much in favor of the court. One hundred and thirteen new representatives obtained seats in parliament.

Mr.



Mt. Laurens was taken on his way from congress to Holland, in the beginning of September, on the banks of Newfoundland. A package of papers, when thrown overboard, not sinking suddenly, was saved by the boldness and dexterity of a British sailor, and most of them were recovered from the effects of the water. On his arrival in England, [Oct. 6.] he was committed upon a charge of high treason, as a state prisoner to the Tower, under an order signed by the three secretaries of state. He claimed the privileges of his public character, as a commissioner from the United States of America; and declined answering any questions whose tendency he could not immediately perceive, so that little information was obtained from him. But by the medium of his papers the administration came to the knowledge of the eventual treaty of amity and commerce between America and Holland. The papers relating to this business were delivered about the beginning of November to the prince of Orange, who on the 5th laid them before the states of Holland and West Friesland. On the 10th Sir Joseph Yorke presented to the States General, a memorial concerning them. He demanded in the name of the king, his master, not only a formal disavowal of [what was pronounced] so irregular a conduct, as that which was charged upon the states of Amsterdam, of carrying on a long clandestine correspondence with the American rebels, and of giving instructions and powers for entering into a treaty with those rebels; but also insisted on a speedy satisfaction, and the punishment of the pensionary Van Berkel and his accomplices. This conduct was declared to be no less contrary to the most sacred engagements of their high mightinesses, than repugnant to the Dutch constitution.

The reference to such engagements seems to have been ill timed, as the royal order of the 17th of April last had declared Holland to be on the footing of other neutral powers; and had disannulled the efficacy of such engagements for the present, by suspending till further orders all the particular stipulations respecting the subjects of the States General, contained in the several treaties then subsisting. The States General disavowed the intended treaty of the city of Amsterdam, and engaged to prosecute the pensionary *according to the laws of the country*. This not being deemed satisfactory, Sir Joseph Yorke received orders to withdraw from the Hague; and on the 20th of December, a manifesto against the Dutch was published in a London Gazette Extraordinary, followed by an order of council—"That general reprisals be granted against the ships, goods and subjects of  
the

the States General." A few days before the publication, the States General had acceded to the confederation of the armed neutrality.

On Tuesday, October the 3d, Jamaica was visited with a complicated calamity. A most extraordinary swell of the sea, ten feet higher than its common level, succeeded by an earthquake and hurricane, brought dreadful destruction on particular parts of the island. Savannah La Mar, a considerable trading town on the south side of the island in Westmoreland parish, was totally destroyed, by the sea's suddenly bursting through all bounds and surmounting all obstacles. Every thing was so completely swept away upon its retreat, as not to leave the smallest vestige of man, beast or habitation behind. About 200 persons of all colours, perished by this terrible irruption. The sea flowed up half a mile beyond its usual fixed limits. This was the prelude to the succeeding earthquake and hurricane. The damage in the parish of Westmoreland only, amounted to near 700,000*l.* sterling. In that of Hanover, one fourth part of the absolute property is said to be lost for ever. The merchants of Kingston generously sent down for the immediate relief of the unhappy sufferers, 10,000*l.* value in different kinds of provision, clothing and other articles.

A yet more tremendous hurricane began at Barbadoes [Oct. 10.] in the morning, and continued with little intermission about 48 hours. The ships were driven from their anchors, and obliged to encounter all the horrors of a most outrageous sea. It prevailed chiefly in the night; and Bridge Town, the capital, was nearly levelled with the earth. The inhabitants who escaped, anxiously waited the break of day, flattering themselves that with the light they should see a cessation of the storm. But the strongest colours cannot paint the miseries they were under. The ground was covered with the mangled bodies of their friends and relations. Reputable families wandered through the ruins in search of food and shelter. Meanwhile there was a continual scene of rapine and confusion. The negroes, instead of attempting to save the effects of the unhappy sufferers, were plundering every part of the town. The tempest was but little abated. The day served but to exhibit the most melancholy prospect. The devastation on all sides was terrible—not a building standing—the trees, if not torn up by the roots, stripped of their leaves and branches—the most luxuriant spring changed in one night to the dreariest winter—the few public buildings, notwithstanding their strength, fallen in the general wreck. The loss of human lives was great even among the whites; but including the blacks was estimated



estimated at some thousands. To increase the calamity, most of the living stock on the island, particularly of the horned cattle, perished. An extraordinary instance of the united force of the winds and waves was apparent upon this occasion in the removal of a cannon, a twelve pounder, from the south to the north battery, being a distance of one hundred and forty yards. The truth of this fact and of the others was supported by public documents, transmitted to the secretary of state by the gov. of the island, and by General Vaughan. Be it mentioned to the honor and praise of Don Pedro St. Jago, a captain of the regiment of Arragon, and of the other Spanish prisoners at Barbadoes, who were all under his immediate direction, that they acted the kind part of friends, instead of behaving like enemies, or even with indifference, in this season of calamity; and omitted no labor or service in their power, for the assistance of the distressed inhabitants, and the preservation of public order.

The islands of St. Lucie, Grenada and St. Vincent, were likewise laid nearly desolate. Most of the ships of war were driven out to sea from St. Lucie, in the beginning of the hurricane. The transports, victuallers, and traders, were dismasted, and generally driven on shore. A prize of 18 guns was wrecked on the back of the island, and all except 17 perished. The Andromeda and Laurel of 28 guns each, were lost on the coast of Martinico; none of the officers and but few of the crew were saved. The Deal Castle of 24 guns suffered the same fate. The Squadron under Admiral Rowley, which convoyed the Jamaica trade on its way to Europe, experienced no less calamity, and sustained still greater loss. The admiral returned to Jamaica with five ships, mostly dismasted and all disabled. The Sterling Castle of 64 guns, was totally lost on the coast of Hispaniola, and only about 50 of the crew saved. The Thunderer, Commodore Boyle-Waltingham, was undoubtedly swallowed up, no traces of her fate having yet come to light. The Phoenix of 44 guns, Sir Hyde Parker, was wrecked on the island of Cuba; but her officers and most of her crew were saved. The Barbadoes and Victor sloops of war, with the Cameleon, Scarborough, and La Blanch frigates, became likewise, with a partial or total loss of men and officers, victims to the rage of this merciless season. The French islands appear to have suffered even more than the British, Barbadoes only excepted. At Martinico the public buildings and private houses of Fort Royal town, to the amount of more than fourteen hundred, were blown down, and an incredible number of persons lost their lives. Every house in St. Pierre shared the same fate, and more than a thousand people perished. The

numbers lost upon the island, including negroes, is computed at about 9000, and the damage at 700,000 louis d'ors. Sixty-two sail of transports from France, which arrived that morning at Martinico, with stores and 2500 troops on board, were all driven out to sea, and several were lost. The Experiment of 50 guns, and the Juno of 40, with some other royal French frigates, were destroyed; and 19 sail of loaded Dutch vessels were dashed to pieces on Grenada. The destruction of people (whites and blacks) at St. Eustatia, was reputed to be between 4 and 5000. A number of houses were blown down and washed away with the inhabitants into the sea. The pecuniary loss must be very great.

The humanity of the Marquis de Bouille affords some relief to these scenes of horror and devastation. He sent 31 British sailors (the remains that were saved of the crews of the Laurel and Andromeda) under a flag of truce to Commodore Hotham at St. Lucie, accompanied with a declaration, that he could not consider in the light of enemies, men who had so hardly escaped in a contention with the force of the elements; but that they having, in common with his own people, been partakers of the same danger, were in like manner entitled to every comfort and relief that could be given, in a season of such universal calamity and distress. He only lamented, he said, that their number was so small, and particularly that none of the officers were saved.

The new parliament met on the 31st of October. The late speaker, Sir Fletcher Norton, having offended the ministry, by exercising too much of an independent spirit, they determined upon choosing another person in his room. Mr. Dunning moved, that Sir Fletcher should be continued. The ministry pretended, that an anxiety for his health was the real cause of moving that a different member might be chosen: but Sir Fletcher, after declaring that he came there with a full determination not to go again into the chair upon any account, informed the house that the king's ministers had not held the smallest previous communication with him upon the subject; that he had been in town three days, and had never been asked whether his health would enable him to continue in the chair, nor had he been applied directly or indirectly, on the subject of choosing a new speaker. He called upon the ministers to declare, why he was thus disgracefully dismissed. After debates, Lord George Germain's motion for the appointment of Mr. Cornwall was carried by a majority of 203 votes to 134, who supported Mr. Dunning's motion.

The king went the next day to the house of peers, [Nov. 1.] and delivered his speech to the parliament. In it he took notice of the



the signal successes which had attended the progress of his arms in Georgia and Carolina. These he trusted would have important consequences in bringing the war to a happy conclusion. When the commons were debating upon the address, Mr. Fox reprehended the ministers in the most pointed terms, for having dared to send orders to officers in all the towns of the kingdom, as well in those where there had not been the smallest proneness to tumult, as in those where it had entirely subsided and quiet was perfectly restored, giving them power to act at discretion, without the authority of the civil magistrate. These orders, he declared, had not been recalled, till almost every election was over. He likewise arraigned the ministers in terms of the utmost severity, for the insult which, he said, had been offered to the navy, and the prejudices done to that service, by the late appointment of Sir Hugh Palliser to the government of Greenwich Hospital. The address was carried, upon a division, by a majority of 212 to 130.

Major Tyler, who served formerly in one of the American continental regiments, by his irregular pursuit of pleasure, occasioned an information to be lodged against himself and Mr. John Trumbull, who was deputy adjutant general with Gates at Concorderoga in 1776. Tyler escaped: but Trumbull was taken and committed to prison on the 21st of November, being charged with holding a treasonable correspondence with the enemy. When he was re-examined the next day, three letters were produced and read, one to his father, the governor of Connecticut, the second from Dr. Franklin's grandson at Passy, where the doctor resides, and the third from a Mr. White of Lyme in Dorsetshire. Mr. Trumbull in his answers to the questions asked him, said, that he arrived in England in the beginning of July; and that the profession he had in view was that of painting, of which Mr. B. West, the historical painter, could inform the bench fully, as well as of the manner how he usually spent his time. Nothing appeared particularly criminal: but circumstances were such, that the bench conceived he was not entitled to his liberty; they therefore signed his warrant of commitment for New Prison, on account of the unrepaired state of Newgate. Confinement will be his chief suffering; and his relations may dismiss all apprehensions of any further danger to his personal safety.

Some detached pieces of European intelligence will close the present epistle.

Mr. Jay has been laboring at the court of Madrid to effect a treaty between Spain and the United States of America; but to no purpose. For particular reasons that court declines making

the treaty with France, the basis of one with them. Congress was much overseen in drawing bills upon him. The importance of Spain to America should not have been brought forward, at least should not have been placed in such a glaring point of view. The measure of drawing, in expectation that the Spaniards would supply the cash, was considered by them as desperate, and as what congress were prompted to by their imbecility. It was in the power of the Spanish court to have made the loan that was asked: whereas, instead of furnishing Mr. Jay with 30 or 40,000l. sterling, the sum requested for immediate service, he was supplied with only about 4200l.

On the 29th of September died Maria Theresa, empress of Germany, queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and archduchess of Austria, and natural sovereign of all the widely extended dominions appertaining to that great house. Her death has occasioned no convulsions in the European system of politics,

Lord George Germain, in his letter to Lord Cornwallis of November the 9th, commended Cornwallis's "determination to inflict exemplary punishment on those traitors, who had repeated the violation of their oaths of allegiance, or broken their parole, and taken arms against the king, as wife and promotive of the great object of the war." He added, "I have not the least doubt, from your lordship's vigorous and alert movements, the whole country, south of the Delaware, will be restored to the king's obedience in the course of the [next] campaign."

The French king this year dignified and for ever rendered his name-day memorable, by a present to his subjects, worthy the humanity and magnificence of a great and enlightened monarch. It was no less than abolishing for ever, that relic of barbarism, so long the approbium of the christian name, and a standing disgrace to the most civilized and learned quarter of the world—the inhuman custom of *putting the question*, as it was called, by torture. It had been so long established and rivetted, that it seemed to be an original and indivisible part of the constitution of their courts of justice. The French king did also, in order to lessen the burdens of his people make a prodigious reform in his household. In pursuance of the new plan adopted in his court, no less than 406 officers in that department were abolished.

The torture having been mentioned, let it be remarked that no one is capitally condemned in Holland, till he acknowledges himself guilty; and that the torture is practised, when needful, to produce such acknowledgement. But then it must be observed, that no one is put to the torture without that evidence, which would hang him in Great Britain. If the accused has firmness



of body and mind to support under the rack through the whole process, he is discharged though guilty; but though innocent, if (overcome by excruciating pain) he pronounces himself guilty, to obtain momentary ease, execution follows.

The bounty and kindness extended by the bishop of Lugo to the British prisoners, deserves every degree of praise and gratitude. Although some of their commanders behaved otherwise the Spanish nobility and merchants, in general, showed extraordinary marks of friendship, and even of affection, to those British gentlemen who fell in their way, while national hostilities were carrying on. The Spaniards labored hard in pushing on their works against Gibraltar, but had often the mortification of seeing them when nearly completed, destroyed in a few hours by the weight of fire from the batteries. Gen. Elliot would let them proceed to a certain point, and then at once throw all their hopes to the ground. Some judicious and successful sallies were likewise made occasionally though sparingly, by the garrison. The vexation of being so baffled by a handful of men, has at length whetted the invention of the Spaniards to a project, that may afford much trouble to the garrison when perfected, and infinitely increase the difficulties and dangers of the defence.

The conduct of the duke of Modena, in abolishing the inquisition in his dominions, must be enumerated among the remarkable circumstances, that have distinguished the year 1780. It affords a fresh instance of the progress, which liberal ideas, with respect to toleration and the rights of conscience, are now making throughout Europe. Upon the death of the grand inquisitor at Reggio, the prince immediately ordered that tribunal to be forever abolished; its revenues to be applied to laudable purposes; and the prisons and other buildings, which could preserve any memorial of its having ever existed, to be demolished.

In the course of this year a considerable number of well-fought and desperate actions have taken place between British and French frigates; in which, though the former had almost continually the advantage when upon equal terms, and the latter were frequently taken; yet there were such instances of professional skill, courage and dexterity, constantly displayed on the part of the French, as were before unknown in their marine.

The present letter will be kept ready to send off instantly, whenever the opportunity of a safe conveyance offers.

L E T.

## L E T T E R VI.

*Roxbury, April 21, 1781.*

MY GOOD SIR,

THE Massachusetts government was greatly alarmed on the 14th of January, by the unexpected arrival of Gen. Knox with an account of the Pennsylvania line's having revolted, and marched off from Morristown. Gov. Hancock had been prepared to expect an event of that kind, though in a different quarter: for Gen. Glover wrote to him on the 11th of the preceding month—"It is now four days since your line of the army has eaten one mouthful of bread. We have no money: nor will any body trust us. The best of wheat is at this moment selling in the state of New York for three fourths of a dollar [3s. 4d. 1-2 sterling] per bushel, and your army is starving for want. On the 1st of January something will turn up if not speedily prevented, which your officers cannot be answerable for." Several causes contributed to produce the revolt of the Pennsylvania line. The officers, when they enlisted the men, imagined that the war would not continue more than three years; and thought, at their enlistment, of holding them no longer than for that term at furthest, though they were to be discharged sooner, was the war ended: the men understood the agreement in the same manner. The officers finding the war did not close as was expected, and recruiting difficult; the soldiers also being well trained by the three years service; they were unwilling to part with them, and imposed a new sense upon the original agreement, viz. that the men were held to serve the whole war, though it lasted beyond two three years. This the men resented as an imposition, and submitted to only from necessity, and till the moment should offer for the redress of such an iniquitous grievance. The officers, to sooth the soldiers, relaxed in their discipline, which made the men feel their own importance. Major M'Pherson having quitted the British service in an honorable way, and attached himself to the Americans, Gen. Washington, when occasion required his forming a particular corps, gave the command of it to the major in token of respect, and by way of encouragement. Upon that the Pennsylvania officers formed themselves into parties; combined in an opposition to the appointment; and offered



ferred to resign their commissions upon the occasion. They also countenanced the non-commissioned officers of their line to unite in applying to head quarters for certain favors. Such conduct contributed to strengthen and ripen that disposition which produced the revolt. The language which the officers of rank talked upon these occasions, within the hearing of the injured soldiers, was not unnoticed; but was applied to direct the conduct of the latter, while it cherished their discontent: so that the revolt would have taken place before, had the opportunity and prospect of success been equally favorable. To the capital grievance abovementioned must be added—the total want of pay for near twelve months—the want of clothing—and not unfrequently the want of provision beyond description. A further aggravation was produced by the arrival in camp of a deputation from the Pennsylvania state with 600 half joes, to be given, three to each man, as a bounty to each of the six months levies (whose time was then expiring) that would enlist again for the war. This was too much for the veterans. The commencement of the new year was to be celebrated, which occasioned the men's being charged with more than a common allowance of spirit. The operation of this upon the animal frame, and the other circumstances conspiring, the Pennsylvania line mutinied. [Jan. 1.] The whole, except three regiments, upon a signal for the purpose, turned out under arms without their officers, and declared for a redress of grievances. Gen. Wayne and the other officers did every thing in their power to quell the tumult. But the troops said—"We neither can, nor will be any longer amused. We are determined, at every hazard, to march in a body to Congress and obtain redress." On Wayne's cocking his pistols, there were a hundred bayonets at his breast, with—"We love you, we respect you, but you are a dead man if you fire. Do not mistake us, we are not going to the enemy: on the contrary, were they now to come out, you should see us fight under your orders with as much resolution and alacrity as ever." Several officers were wounded and a captain killed in vainly attempting to reduce them. The three regiments paraded under their officers; but being called upon by the others to join them, and threatened with death in case of refusal, and actually fired on, they complied. They then seized upon six field pieces, and forcing the artillery men who had not joined them, to do it instantly, under penalty of being every man bayoneted, the mutiny became general. They were about 1300, and began their march at night: the next day Wayne forwarded provisions after them, to prevent the otherwise inevitable depredation which would be made on  
private

private property. He and three principal officers, supposed highest in their esteem, concluded upon following and mixing with them, that they might assist with their advice, and prevent outrages. They were civilly received, and acquired much of the confidence of the mutineers. These however elected temporary officers from their own body; and appointed a sergeant major, who had formerly deserted from the British army, to be their commander. They marched through the country with greater regularity and good conduct, and did less damage, than could have been expected. By the third day they were at Princeton.

When the news of their revolt reached Gen. Washington, the Pennsylvania government, and the congress, they were all much alarmed, lest the example should prove infectious. The commander in chief concluded upon sending off immediately a proper person to the eastern states, to enforce upon them the doing of something without delay for the relief and comfort of their respective lines. Hard money was to be found in the hands of but one officer, sufficient for the expences of the journey, which could not be otherwise performed with a speed answerable to the emergency. Gen. Knox had obtained a small quantity, which was destined for the procurement of those family supplies which he must otherwise have wanted. This annexed to his other qualifications, made him the best and the only agent that Gen. Washington could employ. He readily engaged in the service, notwithstanding its being the depth of winter, and carried with him a letter of January the 5th, wherein his excellency said—"It is in vain to think an army can be kept together much longer, under such a variety of sufferings as ours have experienced; and unless some immediate and speedy measures are adopted to furnish at least three months pay to the troops, in money which will be of some value to them; and at the same time ways and means are devised to clothe and feed them better (more regularly I mean) the worst that can befall us may be expected. I refer you to Gen. Knox, &c." His success was such, that Washington wrote to him about a month after—"The states whose determinations you report, have done themselves honor by their liberality, and by their ready attention to the object of your mission."

When Sir Henry Clinton received intelligence of the revolt, he left no means untried that could turn it to the advantage of the British. He sent two spies by way of Amboy, and two through Elizabeth town (all Americans) to treat as agents from himself with the mutineers. The last two were counter-spies; who gave information of the others upon being designedly taken up; and had the proposals with which they were intrusted taken from them.



them. The two that got safe to Princeton carried similar ones to the revolters, viz. "To be taken under the protection of the British government—to have a free pardon for all past offences—to have the pay due to them from Congress faithfully paid, without any expectation of military service in return, although it would be received if voluntarily offered—and to lay down their arms; and to return to their allegiance." It was recommended to them to move behind the South river, when a body of British troops should be in readiness for their protection as soon as desired. They were requested to send persons to Amboy, to meet others who would be appointed by Sir Henry, to discuss and settle the treaty, and bring matters to a final conclusion. Meanwhile, the British general passed over to Staten Island, with a large body of troops, and took the necessary measures for moving them to the continent, whenever circumstances might require their acting. Clinton's proposals were rejected, and his messengers seized and delivered up to Gen. Wayne, who put them under guard. Soon after, a committee of the Pennsylvania council repaired to Princeton to meet the soldiery. They agreed to the dismissal of all whose terms of enlistment were completed; and precipitately admitted as proof the oath of the party to be benefited; so that a great number fraudulently procured discharges, and about one half of the lines was dismissed before the whole business was concluded, which happened not for some days. A committee of Congress came as far as Trenton, and there remained. The revolters marched from Princeton to that place on the 9th of January. The next day the two spies were tried and executed. By the 15th matters were so adjusted, that the committee of Congress returned to Philadelphia. The same day Congress agreed upon a circular letter to the states. They mentioned in it, that an immediate provision for the pay of the army was indispensibly necessary. They estimated the sum to be forwarded by the respective states from Pennsylvania to New-Hampshire inclusive, at 879,342 dollars. It was calculated on six months pay in specie value; and the advance on one half without delay, and the remainder by the first of the following April, were strongly urged.

The success of the Pennsylvania revolters encouraged about 160 of the Jersey brigade to seek redress in a similar way on the 20th of the same month. Their number was not alarming. A temporizing conduct was no longer needful. Obedience might be enforced with safety. The American general, Robert Howe, was sent off with a large detachment from the main army, with orders to compel the mutineers to unconditional submission, and

to listen to no terms while they were in a state of resistance, and on their reduction instantly to execute a few of the most active and incendiary leaders; for Gen. Washington preferred any extremity to a compromise. When he arrived, instant submission was required; and the two ringleaders were directly taken, tried, and executed. The British wished to benefit by this revolt; and forwarded proposals by one Woodruff; but he instantly delivered them to the American officers. Thus were the high hopes which Clinton had entertained from the revolt of the Pennsylvania line, completely baffled; while a striking instance presented itself of the prevailing unfavorable disposition of the suffering troops, with respect to the British government.

Perturbed by the military convulsions Congress had taken a step, from which they promised themselves future relief, though it could not be obtained immediately. They had on the 23d of December, commissioned Lieut. Col. John Laurens, as special minister at the court of Versailles, to procure the wanted aids. Two days before, they directed the president to write to the ministers plenipotentiary at Versailles and Madrid, desiring them to apply to the courts at which they respectively reside, to use means for obtaining the release and exchange of the honorable Henry Laurens, [the lieut. colonel's father] the news of whose commitment to the Tower had reached them. Means were taken to impress the Chevalier de la Luzerne with a sense of the calamitous situation in which the United States were, that so his information might add weight to the colonel's negotiation. Gen. Greene said to him in a letter of January the 9th—"If France lends not a speedy aid to this distressed people, I fear the country will be for ever lost." The commander in chief furnished the colonel with the following thoughts on the 15th of January.—"To me it appears evident:—1. That considering the diffused population of these states, the consequent difficulty of drawing together its resources, the composition and temper of part of its inhabitants, the want of a sufficient stock of national strength as a foundation for revenue, and the almost-total extinction of commerce, the efforts we have been compelled to make for carrying on the war, have exceeded the natural abilities of this country and by degrees brought it to a crisis, which renders immediate efficacious succours from abroad indispensable to its safety:—2. That, notwithstanding from the confusion always attending a revolution, from our having had governments to frame, and every species of civil and military institution to create, from that inexperience necessarily incident to a nation in its commencement, some errors may have been committed in the administration of our finances, to which



which a part of our embarrassments are to be attributed; yet they are principally to be ascribed to an essential defect of means, to the want of a sufficient stock of wealth, as mentioned in the first article, which continuing to operate, will make it impossible, by any merely interior exertions, to extricate ourselves from those embarrassments, restore public credit, and furnish the funds requisite for the support of the war:—3. That experience has demonstrated the impracticability long to maintain a paper credit without funds for its redemption:—4. That the mode which for want of money has been substituted for supplying the army by assessing a proportion of the produces of the earth, has hitherto been found ineffectual:—5. That from the best estimates of the annual expence of the war, and the annual revenues which these states are capable of affording, there is a large balance to be supplied by credit. The resource of domestic loans is inconsiderable:—6. That the patience of the army is now nearly exhausted, which demonstrates the absolute necessity of a speedy relief, a relief not within the compass of our means:—7. That the people being dissatisfied with the mode of supporting the war, evils actually felt in the prosecution of it may weaken the sentiments which began it:—8. That from all the foregoing considerations, result, first, the absolute necessity of an immediate ample and efficacious succour of money, large enough to be a foundation for substantial arrangements of finance, to revive public credit, and give vigor to future operations; secondly, the vast importance of a decided effort of the allied arms on this continent the ensuing campaign, to effectuate once for all the great objects of the alliance the liberty and independence of these states:—9. That next to a loan of money a constant superiority on these coasts is the object most interesting:—10. That an additional succour of troops would be extremely desirable:—11. That no nation will have it more in its power to repay what it borrows than this: our debts are hitherto small.—The people are discontented, but it is with the feeble and oppressive mode of conducting the war, not with the war itself. A large majority are still firmly attached to the independence of these states.” To Dr. Franklin the general wrote the same day—“To me nothing appears more evident, than that the period of our opposition will very shortly arrive, if our allies cannot afford us that effectual aid, particularly in money and a naval superiority, which is now solicited.” To what purposes such superiority was to be applied, a letter of the 10th of February declared, which said—“In the conference between Count de Rochambeau and myself it was agreed, that if by the aid of our allies we can have a naval superiority through the next campaign, and an army of thirty thousand men (or double the force of the enemy

enemy at New York and its dependencies) early enough in the season to operate in that quarter, to prefer it to every other object; and applications have been made to the court of France in this spirit. If we should find ourselves unable to undertake this more capital expedition; and if we have means equal to it, we shall attempt a secondary object. The reduction of Charlestown, Savannah, &c. may come into contemplation." The prospect of giving relief to the southern states, by an operation against New York, was the principal inducement for proposing it.

The southern operations have been peculiar. Before they are related, let it be remarked, that when Gen. Gates passed through Richmond on his way home, the Virginia house of delegates on December the 28th—"Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That a committee of four be appointed to wait on Major Gen. Gates, and to assure him of the high regard and esteem of this house:—That the remembrance of his former glorious services cannot be obliterated by any reverse of fortune, but that this house, ever mindful of his great merit, will omit no opportunity of testifying to the world the gratitude which, as a member of the American union, this country owes to him in his military character." To this resolve, when communicated by the committee of four, the general answered the same day—"Sirs, I shall ever remember with the utmost gratitude, the high honor this day done me, by the honorable the house of delegates of Virginia. When I engaged in the noble cause of freedom and the United States, I devoted myself entirely to the service of obtaining the great end of their union. That I have been once unfortunate is my great mortification; but let the event of my future services be what they may, they will, as they always have been, be directed by the most faithful integrity, and animated by the truest zeal for the honor and interest of the United States."

When Gen. Greene entered upon his command, he found himself under the greatest embarrassments. The numerous whig militia that had been kept on foot in North Carolina, had laid waste almost all the country. The troops were destitute of every thing necessary either for their comfort or convenience. The men were naked; there were no magazines; and the army was subsisted by daily collections. Every thing depended upon opinion; and it was equally dangerous for him to go forward or to stand still; for if he lost the confidence of the people, he lost all support; and if he rushed on to danger, all was hazarded. The impatience of the people to drive off the enemy, if regarded, would precipitate him into a thousand misfortunes. The mode of conducting the war, most to the liking of the inhabitants, was the



the least likely to effect their salvation\*. By the genuine returns on the 8th of December, it appears, that the infantry then serving under Greene were, rank and file, present and fit for duty, 1482, and on command 547, in all 2029; of these 821 were continentals, and 1208 militia. Add to these 90 cavalry, 60 artillery, and 128 continentals on extra service, and his whole operative force was 2307. The fewness of his troops, the nature of the country, filled with woods and swamps, and thinly inhabited, the toryism of numbers, and the want of magazines, led the general to conclude on a partizan war. He considered the maxims of European generals, but was far from confining himself to them; for he observed that however they might suit that part of the world, they were not adapted to the place where he was to act, only in certain circumstances to which when they occurred, he meant to be attentive. On his arrival at camp, he learned that the troops had made a practice of going home without permission, staying weeks and then returning. Determined to stop such a dangerous custom, the general gave out that he would make an example of the first deserter of the kind he caught; and one was accordingly shot at the head of the army drawn up to be spectators of the punishment. At night he sent officers round the camp to listen to the talk of the soldiers, and was happy to find that the measure had taken its desired effect, and that the language of the men was only—"We must not do as we have been used to: it is new lords new laws." But it was a mortification to him to learn from another quarter, that by the folly or treachery of those who had the charge of the prisoners taken at King's Mountain, all except about 130 had been enlarged upon different conditions; by which he lost upward of 600 men, who would have been of the utmost importance in an exchange with Lord Cornwallis. His lordship on the 1st of December addressed to him the following note—"I think it proper to represent to you, that the officers and men taken at King's Mountain, were treated with an inhumanity scarcely credible. I find myself under the disagreeable necessity of making some retaliation for those unhappy men, who were so cruelly and unjustly put to death at Gilbert-town." Gen. Greene answered to it on the 17th [December]—"I am too much a stranger to the transactions at Gilbert-town to reply fully on that subject. They must have been committed before my arrival in the department, and by persons under the character of volunteers, who were independent of the army. However, if there was any thing done in that affair contrary to the principles of humanity and the law of nations, and for which they had not the conduct of your army as a precedent, I shall be ever ready to testify my disapprobation

\* The general's own letters.

approbation of it.—The first example was furnished on your part, as appears by the list of unhappy sufferers enclosed; and it might have been expected, that the friends of the unfortunate should follow it.—Punishing capitally for a breach of military parole is a severity, that the principles of modern war will not authorize, unless the inhabitants are to be treated as a conquered people, and subject to all the rigor of military government.—The feelings of mankind will for ever decide, when the rights of humanity are invaded. I leave them to judge of the tendency of your lordship's order to Lieut. Col. Balfour after the action near Camden, of Lord Rawdon's proclamation, and of Tarleton's laying waste the country and distressing the inhabitants, who were taught to expect protection and security, if they observed but a neutrality.—Sending the inhabitants of Charlestown to St. Augustine, contrary to the articles of capitulation, is a violation which I have also to represent, and which I hope your lordship will think yourself bound to redress." The list referred to was this—"William Stroud and Mr. Dowel, executed near Rocky Mount, without a trial, by order of Lieut. Col. Turnbull.—Richard Tucker, Samuel Andrews, and John Miles, hanged in Camden by order of Lord Cornwallis. Mr. Johnson hanged since the action of Black Stocks, by Lieut. Col. Tarleton. About thirty persons hanged at Augusta by Col. Brown. Adam Cusack hanged at Peedee by Col. Mills."

General Greene perceiving that he could not bring provisions to his army from any distance, resolved to march his army to the provisions. The country about Charlotte, and from thence to Camden, was exhausted, having been long the scene of military operations. The river Peedee afforded the nearest supply; and what was a considerable inducement to repair thither, the cane-breaks in that part of the country afforded good pasturage for the horses. The only difficulty was, that the situation proposed to be taken was more distant from the enemy than Charlotte; and the general hesitated about making his first motion retrograde. The confidence of the enemy, the diffidence of his troops, and the despair of the people, might all be excited by such a manœuvre. Such was his dilemma, that he must either relinquish a considerable part of the country, or divide his small force so as to render each part too inconsiderable for the defence of it. He saw the danger of separating his force, but was obliged to submit to necessity. Brigadier General Morgan, who was invested with the command of the light troops by General Gates, was continued in that command by Greene; and the corps was completed by fresh draughts from the line to 300 infantry under Lieut. Col.

Howard,



Howard, 170 Virginia riflemen under Major Triplett, and about 70 light dragoons under Lieut. Col. Washington. The light troops watch detached to the westward of the Wateree into South Carolina, to wate the motions of the enemy at Wynsborough and Camden, and to shift for themselves. They took their position on the western extremity of the state on the 25th of December.

The command of the North Carolina militia devolved on Brigadier Davidson. Brigadier Smallwood having obtained leave to go home. Gen. Marion was engaged in stimulating his countrymen in the lower parts of South Carolina; in keeping the tories in awe; in watching the enemy at their posts of Charlestown, George-town, and neighbouring places; and in gaining intelligence.

General Greene with the remainder of his army, consisting of the continental brigade under Col. O. Williams, and the Virginia militia brigade under Gen. Stevens, with the artillery and a very few horse, marched from Charlotte on the 20th of Dec. and arrived at Hicks's Creek on the east side of the Peedee on the 26th, where he remained for some time. Here the spirit of plundering which prevailed among the inhabitants added much to his difficulties. The whole country was in danger of being laid waste by the whigs and tories, who pursued, destroyed and killed each other, wherever they met, with as much relentless fury as beasts of prey. He regretted, that most people appear to be in pursuit of revenge, private gain, or personal glory.\*

Morgan on the 27th detached Washington with his dragoons, and about 200 militia, who marched 40 miles on the 28th, and the next day surprised a body of tories in Ninety Six, about 150 of whom were killed and wounded, and 40 made prisoners, and a number of horses taken, without any loss on the part of the Americans. Major M'Dowal, with 190 North Carolina militia, and Col. Pickens with about 70 South, joined the light troops. Pickens had lately escaped from captivity in Ninety Six, where his great worth and popularity influenced many to adhere to the American cause. On the 8th of January Greene sent word to Morgan, that the enemy had a movement in contemplation; and eleven days after, forwarded some advice which will soon be mentioned.

Greene had in camp at Hicks's Creek, [Jan. 12.] present and fit for duty, 650 continentals, a detachment of 303 Virginia troops, and 157 Maryland state troops, in all 1110. The next day Col. Lee's partizan legion arrived from the northward. The corps consisted

\* General Greene's letters.

consisted of about one hundred horsemen well mounted, and one hundred and twenty infantry. On the 13th the legion was detached on a secret expedition. To take off the attention of the enemy and favor the enterprise, Major Anderson was sent with a small command down the Peedee. Lee pushed on for George-town, which he surprised the 24th at night. Lieut. Col. Campbell was taken in his quarters and paroled; several other officers also were made prisoners and paroled. Major Irwin and a number more of the garrison were killed; but the principal part fled to the fort, which Lee was not in a condition to besiege. While this enterprise was carrying on, the enemy aimed a blow at Morgan. Greene before he heard of Morgan's success, wrote to him on the 19th of January—"The Peedee rose 25 feet the last week in 30 hours. Put nothing to the hazard. A retreat may be disagreeable, but is not disgraceful. Regard not the opinion of the day. It is not our business to risk too much."

General Leslie in compliance with his orders, left Virginia, and arrived at Charlestown with his troops on the 13th of December: on the 19th he began his march up the country with about 1530 men, to join Lord Cornwallis, which was effected without difficulty. On the 11th of January his lordship advanced toward North Carolina. He wished to drive Gen. Morgan from his station, and to deter the inhabitants from joining him. The execution of this business was intrusted to Lieut. Col. Tarleton; who was detached with the light and legion infantry, the fusiliers, the first battalion of the 71st regiment, about 350 cavalry, two field pieces, and an adequate proportion of men from the royal artillery, upward of 1100 in the whole. This detachment, after a progress of some days, by fatiguing marches, at about ten o'clock on the evening of the 16th of January, reached the ground which Morgan had quitted but a few hours before. The pursuit recommenced by two o'clock the next morning, and was rapidly continued through marshes and broken grounds till day light, when the Americans were discovered in front. Two of their videttes were taken soon after, who gave information that Morgan had halted and prepared for action, at a place called the Cowpens, near Pacolet river. The British, beside their field pieces, had the superiority in infantry, in the proportion of five to four, and in cavalry of more than three to one. Beside, nearly two thirds of the troops under Morgan were militia. Morgan had obtained early intelligence of Tarleton's force and advances; and had drawn up his men in two lines. The whole of the North and South Carolina militia present was put under the command of Col. Pickens, and formed the first line; which was advanced a few hundred yards before



before the second, with orders to form on the right of the second when forced to retire. The second line consisted of the light infantry under Lieut. Col. Howard, and the Virginia riflemen. Lieut. Col. Washington, with his cavalry, and about forty-five militiamen, mounted and equipped with swords, under Lieut. Col. McCall, were drawn up at some distance in the rear of the whole. The open wood in which they were formed, was neither secured in front, flank or rear. Without the delay of a single moment, and in despite of extreme fatigue, the light legion infantry and fusiliers were ordered to form in line. Before the order was executed, and while Major Newmarsh, who commanded the latter corps, was posting his officers, the line though far from complete, was led to the attack by Tarleton himself. The British advanced with a shout, and poured in an incessant fire of musquetry. Col. Pickens directed the militia not to fire till the British were within forty or fifty yards. This order though executed with great firmness and success, was not sufficient to repel the enemy. The American militia gave way on all quarters. The British advanced rapidly, and engaged the second line. The continentals, after an obstinate conflict, were compelled to retreat to the cavalry. Col. Ogilvie, with his troop of forty men, had been ordered to charge the right flank of the Americans, and was engaged in cutting down the militia; but being exposed to a heavy fire, and charged at the same time by Washington's dragoons, was forced to retreat in confusion. A great number of the British infantry officers had already fallen, and nearly a proportionable one of privates. The remainder being too few and too much fatigued, could not improve the advantage gained over the continentals; and Tarleton's legion cavalry standing aloof instead of advancing, Lieut. Col. Howard seized the favorable opportunity, rallied the continentals, and charged with fixed bayonets, nearly at the same moment when Washington made his successful attack. The example was instantly followed by the militia. Nothing could exceed the astonishment of the British, occasioned by these unexpected charges. Their advance fell back, and communicated a panic to others, which soon became general. Two hundred and fifty horse which had not been engaged, fled through the woods with the utmost precipitation, bearing down such officers as opposed their flight; and the cannon were soon seized by the Americans, the detachment from the train being either killed or wounded in their defence. The greatest confusion now followed among the infantry. In the moment of it Lieut. Col. Howard called to them to lay down their arms, and promised them good quarters. Some hundreds accepted the offer, and surrendered.

The first battalion of the 71st regiment, and two British light infantry companies laid down their arms to the American militia. The only body of infantry that escaped, was a detachment left at some distance to guard the baggage. Early intelligence of their defeat was conveyed to the officer commanding that corps by some royalists. What part of the baggage could not be carried off he immediately destroyed; and with his men mounted on the waggon and spare horses, he retreated to Lord Cornwallis. The British had 10 commissioned officers, and upward of 100 rank and file killed. Two hundred wounded, 29 commissioned officers, and above 500 privates prisoners, fell into the hands of the Americans, beside two pieces of artillery (first taken from the British at Saratoga, then retaken by them at Camden, and now recovered by the Americans) two standards, 800 muskets, 35 baggage waggons, and upward of 100 dragon horses. Washington pursued Tarleton's cavalry for several miles; but the far greater part of them escaped. They joined their army in two separate divisions. One arrived in the neighbourhood of the British encampment upon the evening of the same day; the other under Tarleton appeared the next morning. Although Tarleton's corps had waged a most cruel warfare, and their progress had been marked with burnings and devastations, not a man of them was killed, wounded, or even insulted after he had surrendered. The Americans had only twelve men killed and sixty wounded.

General Morgan, together with his officers and troops, have justly obtained the universal applause of their countrymen. The glory and importance of the action have resounded from one end of the continent to the other. The desponding friends of America in the southern states were re-animating; and enjoyed a seeming resurrection from the dead. When it was known by Congress that the southern army had safely crossed the Dan into Virginia, they returned on the 9th of March the thanks of the United States to Gen. Morgan, and the officers and men under his command. They resolved also to honor the general with a gold medal, Col. Washington with a silver one, Col. Howard with another, and Col. Pickens with a sword.

Several of the British officers censure Tarleton for not halting his troops before he engaged; that so they might have been refreshed, and time have been given for the detachment with the baggage, together with batmen and officers servants to come up and join in the action. They charge him with un-officer-like impetuosity in directing the line to advance before it was properly formed, and before the reserve had taken its ground. They pronounced him guilty of an error in omitting to give discretion-



ary powers to the commander of the reserve to advance, when the front line was in pursuit of the militia; but chiefly in not bringing up a column of cavalry to support and improve the advantages he had gained when the American infantry were compelled to retreat. Tarleton's impetuous attacks had answered in former instances: but in the present action, he did not surprise his enemy; and engaged an officer, Morgan, who had faced the troops under Burgoyne, and served under Washington and Gates.

Lord Cornwallis, with the expectation of regaining the prisoners, and of demolishing Morgan's corps, instantly concluded on a pursuit. Morgan, aware of the consequences of delay, sent on the militia with the prisoners, and to cover their retreat manoeuvred in their rear with his cavalry and regular infantry. Cornwallis, that he might march with more ease and rapidity, on the 25th of January, began to destroy all his superfluous baggage; and even all the waggons, except those with hospital stores, salt and ammunition, and four others which were reserved empty for the sick and wounded. The same day, Greene ordered Stevens to march with his brigade of Virginia militia (whose time was nearly expired) by way of Charlotte, and take the prisoners under his care to Charlotte Ville in Virginia, to which place Morgan had instructions to send them. Greene concluded that being present with Morgan, he could so order the movements of both divisions for forming a junction, as would excel any directions which could otherwise be given. He therefore left the camp at Hicks's Creek, under the command of Gen. Huger and Col. Otho Williams, and set forward on the 28th, attended by one aid de camp and two or three militia men, armed and mounted. The first intelligence he gained on his route was, that Cornwallis was marching after Morgan with great expedition. His lordship gained upon the latter, after the destruction of the baggage. Greene immediately sent off an express to Huger and Williams, with directions for them to march with all possible dispatch to form a junction with the light troops at Charlotte or Salisbury, as circumstances would admit. They marched the next day. Greene proceeded; and on the 31st, after a journey of 150 miles, joined the light troops encamped at Sherrard's Ford, on the north side of the Catawba. They had reached the Catawba on the 28th; and by the evening of the next day they and their prisoners had passed it without any difficulty. About two hours after Morgan had crossed, the British advance arrived. It rained hard that night, and the river rose so high as to prevent Lord Cornwallis's getting over. The rise was owing chiefly to the rains which had fallen before in the mountains. Had the  
rise

rise taken place a few hours earlier, Morgan, with his whole detachment and five hundred prisoners, would scarcely have had a chance of escaping. His lordship could not cross for two days; which gave an opportunity of sending the prisoners forward with safety. The arrival of Gen. Greene, was no less providential than the rise of the river. Gen. Morgan was for retreating over the mountains, a different route from what Greene proposed. He was so attached to his own opinion, that he declared he would not be answerable for consequences if it was not followed. Greene replied—"Neither will you; for I shall take the measure upon myself;" and gave directions accordingly. The event has shown, that the other route must have proved fatal; and that the junction of the light troops with the main army under Huger and Williams could not have been effected by it. As soon as the passage of the Catawba was practicable, Cornwallis made preparations for crossing. The more effectually to deceive the Americans he made a feint of passing at different fords; but the real attempt was made early in the morning of the 1st of February, at a ford near M'Cowan's. Gen. Davidson, with about 300 militia, arrived at this post the evening before. Greene, apprehensive of Cornwallis's real intention, advised Davidson to encamp his troops close in with the side of the river, that he might be ready to give the enemy a vigorous opposition. The advice was neglected. Davidson stationed only a small number on the bank, while the main body was at a distance. The party on the bank, made what opposition they could to the British; who marched through the river upward of five hundred yards wide, and about three feet deep, without returning their fire, till after landing. The firing brought Davidson toward the spot. But the British were formed; and he was soon shot dead in attempting to make a more effectual opposition to them. The militia throughout the neighbouring settlements were now totally dispirited. Few of them could be persuaded to take or keep the field. A small party collected about ten miles from the ford; but was soon dispersed by Tarleton. All the fords were abandoned; and the whole royal army crossed over without any further opposition.

A military race now commenced between the pursuing British under Lord Cornwallis and the fleeing Americans under gen. Greene. The latter retreated as expeditiously as possible, and crossed the Yadkin partly in flats and partly by fording, on the 2d and 3d of the month, and secured the boats on the north side. Though Cornwallis was so close in the rear, as that a smart skirmish happened between a party of riflemen and his advance, yet a want of boats, and the rapid rising of the river from pre-  
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ceding rains, made his crossing impossible. This second hair-breadth escape was considered as a fresh evidence of their being favored by Heaven. They viewed it with pious gratitude; and frequently marked, that if the rising of the river had been a few hours sooner, Morgan's whole detachment would have been in the power of a greatly superior army; if a few hours later, that Cornwallis would have effected his passage, so as to have enabled him to get between the two divisions of the American army, which might have proved the destruction of both. That the Americans should effect their passage in two successive instances, while the British (whose advance was often in sight of the American rear) were providentially restrained, affected the devout inhabitants of the neighbouring settlement with lively thanks to the Most High, and added fresh vigor to their exertions in behalf of their country.

On the 5th of Feb. Greene wrote to Huger—"I intend, if we can find a good position, to prepare to receive the enemy's attack. It is not improbable, from Lord Cornwallis's pushing disposition, and the contempt he has for our army, we may precipitate him into some capital misfortune. If Cornwallis knows his true interest he will pursue our army. If he can disperse that, he completes the reduction of the state; and without it he will do nothing to effect." His lordship being obliged to march his troops about 25 miles to the upper fords, which are generally passable, gave time for the junction of the two divisions of the American army on the 7th, near Guilford court house; circumstances not having admitted of its being done either at Charlotte or Salisbury.

Lord Cornwallis's first object, that of retorting the fatal blow given by Morgan at the Cowpens and of recovering the captives, being frustrated; and the British army being without tents, and like the Americans, dependent for subsistence on what could be hastily picked up by detachments on a rapid march; it was doubted whether his lordship would prosecute his enterprise further: so that Gen. Greene spent the 8th of February in refreshing all his regular forces at Guilford court house, which was much wanted. The light troops had not time, after the battle, to take care of their wounded or even breathe (surgeons were left on the field) and their retreat of 150 miles was effected under difficulties that harassed them exceedingly. The retreat of the battalions from the Peedee under Huger, was conducted for 100 miles under circumstances requiring the utmost patience. The worst waggons, with the poorest teams, and most useless part of the baggage, were early sent off by Col. O. Williams to Hillsborough;

borough; but the best, and even the artillery, was an encumbrance in their situation. They were some times without meat, often without flour, and alway without spiritous liquors. Notwithstanding the wintry season, and their having little clothing, they were daily reduced to the necessity of fording deep creeks, and of remaining wet without any change of raiment, till the heat of their bodies and occasional fires in the woods, dried their tattered rags. Their route lay through a barren country, which scarcely afforded necessaries for a few straggling inhabitants. They were retarded by heavy rains, broken bridges, bad roads and poor horses. Many of them marched without shoes over the frozen ground, and through stony roads, which so gashed their feet, that the blood marked every step of their progress. All these hardships were endured without the loss of a single sentinel by desertion. Lee's partizan legion had undergone extreme service, through their additional expedition to George Town, 75 miles distant from the point where the retreat of the batallions commenced.

Though the toils and sufferings of the Americans exceeded, those of the royal army were far from trifling. The British had in common with the others bad roads, heavy rains, a want of cover, deep creeks and rivers through which to pass in the depth of winter: but then they were well supplied in the articles of shoes and clothes. The difficulties and evils arising from Lord Cornwallis's destroying the superfluous baggage and waggons were not small: but they were submitted to with the most general and cheerful acquiescence, from his lordship's setting the example.

On the 9th of February Gen. Greene wrote to Gen. Sumpter—"I shall avoid a general action if possible: but I am afraid it will not be in my power. Our force is so small and in such distress, that I have little to hope, and every thing to fear." The troops present and fit for action were 1426, beside riflemen and others, amounting to 397, and 176 cavalry, in all 1999. But they were greatly fatigued, and in general much dispirited. The forces under Cornwallis (as Greene then thought and said in his letter to Gen. Washington) consisted of between 2500 and 3000, including near 300 dragoons and their mounted infantry. These were well clothed, amply equipped, and confident of every advantage. In the morning a council of war was called; of which Greene sent the following account to Governor Nash of North Carolina—"It was the unanimous opinion of a council of war this day, that it would be inevitable ruin to the army, and no less ruinous to the American cause, to hazard a general action: the council therefore advised to our crossing the Dan immediately."

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The proper measures were instantly taken. A light army was formed out of Col. Lee's legion, the regular battalion of infantry under Col. Howard, the cavalry under Col. Washington, and a small corps of Virginia riflemen under Major Campbell, amounting to about 700 men, the flower of the Southern American Army. Gen. Morgan being rendered totally unfit for command, or even to march with his corps, by the great fatigue he had suffered, and the torment he was in with the rheumatism, Greene was embarrassed in the appointment of an officer to succeed him. He finally resolved to confer that honor upon the deputy adjutant general, Col. Otho H. Williams, who entered upon his command on the 10th; when Greene marched with the main army from Guilford court house toward the Dan, which forms the boundary between North Carolina and Virginia.

Lord Cornwallis well knowing the inferiority of the American army, conceived hopes of getting between Greene and Virginia, and of reducing him to the necessity of either fighting or abandoning his communication with that state, and likewise of running the risk of being hemmed in between the great rivers in the west, the sea on the east, Lord Rawdon in the south, and the main royal army in the north. To this end Cornwallis kept the upper country, (where only the rivers are fordable) as he supposed that the Americans could not make good their passage in the deep water from the want of a sufficient number of flats. In case they attempted it, he expected to overtake and force them to an action before they could cross. But the advantages resulting from the season of the year, and from the face of the country, intersected with rivers and creeks, were so improved by Greene as completely to baffle his lordship. The better to avoid a rapid pursuit, the main and light army took different routes. The next day the latter had a rencounter with the van of the British army, in which an officer and half a dozen privates of Tarleton's legion were made prisoners, and several killed. Frequent skirmishes, and the manœuvres practised to mislead Cornwallis, had the desired effect, and gave Greene time to send forward his baggage. On the morning of the 13th, Greene wrote to Williams—"It is very evident the enemy intend to push us in crossing the river. The night before last, as soon as I got your letter, I sent off the baggage and stores, with orders to cross as fast as they got to the river. The North Carolina militia have all deserted us, except about 80 men. Majors and captains are among the deserters. You have the flower of the army, don't expose the men too much, lest our situation should grow more critical. Finding Gen. Lillingston had delayed so much time, as to render our junction critical,

I gave him orders to file off to Cross Creek. I thought his going there at this moment, might keep down the Tories; and his reinforcement would be too inconsiderable to enable us to make a stand, and would only add to our difficulties in getting over the river." The next morning [Feb. 14.] he sent an express to him with this note—"4 o'clock. Follow our route, as a division of our force may encourage the enemy to push us further than they will dare to do, if we are together. I have not slept four hours since you left me, so great has been my solicitude to prepare for the worst. I have great reason to believe, that one of Tarleton's officers was in our camp the night before last."—Again—"2 o'clock in the afternoon. The greater part of our waggons are over, and the troops are crossing." The communication between Greene and Williams closed for the present with—"Irwin's ferry, 1-2 past 5 o'clock. All our troops are over, and the stage is clear. The infantry will cross here, the horse below. Major Hardman has posted his party in readiness on this [the south] side, and the infantry and artillery are posted on the other, and I am ready to receive and give you a hearty welcome." Greene had the pleasure of seeing all the light army safe over that night, though in the day they had been pushed forty miles by Cornwallis's army, whose van arrived just as the American rear had crossed. The next day Greene dispatched the following letters—To Governor Jefferson of Virginia; "On the Dan river, almost fatigued to death, having had a retreat to conduct for upward of 200 miles, manœuvring constantly in the face of the enemy, to give time for the militia to turn out and get off our stores."—To Baron Steuben; "Col. Williams, with the light infantry, Lieut. Col. Lee's legion, and the cavalry of the 1st and 3d regiments, has covered our retreat, and conducted with great propriety in the most critical situation. Cornwallis's movements are so rapid, that few or no militia join us. He marches from 20 to 30 miles in a day; and is organized to move with the same facility as a light infantry corps. Should he continue to push us, we must be finally ruined without reinforcements."—To Gen. Washington; "The miserable situation of the troops for want of clothing has rendered the march the most painful imaginable, many hundreds of the soldiers marking the ground with their bloody feet. The British army is much stronger than I had calculated upon in my last. I have not a shilling of money to obtain intelligence with, notwithstanding my application to Maryland for that particular purpose. Our army is in good spirits, notwithstanding their sufferings and excessive fatigue." Some days after he informed Baron Steuben—"We have been astonishingly successful in our late,



late, great, and fatiguing retreat, and have never lost, in one instance, any thing of the least value." It was with inexpressible grief and vexation, that the British discovered, on the 15th, that all their exertions had been in vain, and that all their hopes were frustrated. Lord Cornwallis however had this to console him, that there was no force in North Carolina to prevent the royalists from making good their promise of a general rising in favor of British government.

During the transactions above related, General Marion defended himself with a few faithful militia in the swamps and morasses of the settlements near Charlestown; and was frequently falling out from his hiding places, and enterprising something in behalf of his country. Having mounted his followers, he infested the British, out-posts, intercepted their convoys, destroyed their stores, beat up their quarters, and so harassed them with alarms, that they were obliged to be alway upon their guard. On the other side, Col. Balfour, who commanded at Charlestown, projected an expedition against Wilmington in North Carolina. A small naval force was equipped, and Major Craig dispatched on the service with about 300 soldiers. The troops were landed about nine miles short of Wilmington; and the town being abandoned by its defensive force of about 150 men, was taken without resistance.—It has since been made a post of some strength.

Lieut. Col. Lee's legion recrossed the Dan on the 18th February, agreeably to the wish of Gen. Greene, to watch the motions of Cornwallis's army; which, after having collected a quantity of provision, began on the morning of the 19th to move slowly toward Hillsborough. There his lordship erected the royal standard, and by proclamation on the 20th, invited all his friends to repair to it. Greene being informed that numbers had joined his lordship, and that the North Carolinians were repairing to him in shoals to make their submission, was apprehensive, that unless some spirited measure was immediately taken the whole country would be lost to the American cause. He concluded therefore upon returning to North Carolina. The light troops recrossed the Dan on the 21st, and on the next day were followed by the main body, accompanied with 600 Virginia militia under General Stevens. Greene, the more effectually to alarm Cornwallis and discourage the royalists, rode with his aide de camp twenty-one miles toward the enemy and within about fifteen of his lordship. The report of his being within that distance soon reached his lordship; who inferred that the American army was equally near. The light infantry hung round his lordship's quarters,

quarters, while the main army advanced slowly, keeping in view the route to the upper parts of the country, the more effectually to avoid an action, and to form a junction with the militia of the Western Waters under Col. Campbell and others, who were expected in considerable numbers.

Lieut. Col. Tarleton with the British legion was detached from Hillsborough, across the Haw river, to Major O'Neil's plantation, to protect a considerable number of royalists appointed to meet there on the 24th. General Pickens and Lieut. Col. Lee, who had intelligence of Tarleton's movements concerted measures to bring him to action. Lee's cavalry were to attack those of Tarleton's command, while Pickens's militia dispersed the collected royalists. These happened to be paraded on the night of the 25th February, in a long lane leading toward O'Neil's house. Lee led his cavalry into the lane, mistaking the royalists for a part of Pickens's militia, which he supposed had arrived there before him. After he discovered the distinguishing red rag in their hats, he with great presence of mind passed on, intending to leave them to the treatment of their countrymen under Pickens. When these came up, and a firing had commenced between them and the royalists. Lee with his cavalry returned and fell upon the latter; who not having seen Tarleton's dragoons, mistook Lee's cavalry for them. While laboring under this mistake, he cut them down as they were making ardent protestations of loyalty, and asserting—"that they were the very best friends to the king." A horrid slaughter was made of them, between two and three hundred being cut to pieces. Tarleton was refreshing his legion about a mile from the scene. Upon hearing the alarm, he ordered his men to mount; precipitately recrossed the Haw; and returned to Hillsborough. On his retreat, he also cut down several of the royalists as they were advancing to join the British army, mistaking them for rebel militia of the country. This event, together with Greene's having recrossed the Dan, broke all Cornwallis's measures. The tide of public sentiment was now no longer in his favor. The recruiting service declined and was stopped, which had it proceeded a fortnight longer, would have so strengthened his lordship, that he must have held the country. The advocates for royal government were discouraged, and could not be induced to act with confidence. Considerable numbers who were, on their way to join his lordship, returned home to wait for further events.

On the 27th Lord Cornwallis retired from Hillsborough in two columns. The same day Lee's legion and Pickens's militia joined the main body of American light infantry, which was now considerably reinforced by volunteer horse and riflemen from Virginia:



nia: and the whole corps passed the Haw (a branch of Cape Fear river) at night. Greene, with the main army, augmented by the North Carolina militia, crossed it the next morning, and marched with all his force toward Allamance. In the evening it was discovered that Cornwallis, with the British army was near it. The American light infantry encamped within about three miles of him, and Greene halted within seven, on a road leading immediately to his lordship's camp. Though Greene meant to assume the most confident appearance, he considered this situation extremely ineligible; as it was in a manner forcing his lordship to action, for which he himself was by no means prepared; but to retire precipitately would betray his apprehensions of danger. He hoped that Lord Cornwallis meant to retire, though reluctantly, to Cross Creek on Cape Fear river. He therefore wished only to wait on him, and partially to attack him on the march, for which the light troops were perfectly calculated. Greene's object was to wear away the time, till all the expected reinforcements should arrive, and his army could be properly organized and prepared for action. On the 2d of March there was a slight skirmish in the morning, between a detachment under Tarleton and a part of the militia under Williams, within one mile of the British encampment.

After various movements of the American light infantry, Lord Cornwallis taking the advantage of a thick fog on the 6th of March, marched early in the morning with his whole force, intending to surprise them and bring Greene to a general action: but the vigilance of the light troops disappointed his lordship's first hope, and then gallantly defeated his second. About eight o'clock the patrols of Williams's brigade brought intelligence of his lordship's being within two miles of his encampment, on the road leading to Gen. Pickens's quarters, and from thence to Whitfell's mill, an important pass on Reedy Fork creek, immediately between the American light infantry and the main army. His lordship's designs were manifest, and no time was to be lost. Dispatches went off to apprize Pickens. He being gone to head quarters, and Lieut. Col. Lee, who was of that brigade and second in command, having received information of his lordship's approach, retired before him. Col. Williams marched his brigade immediately for Whitfell's mill. The light skirmishing of some small parties on the flanks of the British army, gained time for the removal of certain impediments, so that a junction of the two brigades was formed about a mile from the mill. Col. Williams then ordered Col. Campbell, who had joined the light infantry with a number of riflemen from the Western Waters, and Lieut.

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Col. Washington to move slow, and give time for the rest of the troops to gain the pass, if possible, without risking their commands, which was effected. A covering party was formed of about 150 Virginia militia. The main body of the militia passed first after the horses and waggons, and formed on the opposite side of the water; then the regular infantry under Lieutenant Col. Howard; after that Lee's legion, infantry and cavalry. Campbell and Washington filed off about half a mile from the mill, crossed and rejoined the rest on the other side of the creek. Col. Webster, with about 1000 British infantry, attacked the covering party, which gave him a brisk fire, and then retired over the fork. The British infantry followed with great precipitation, and met a severe salute from the fire of Campbell's rifles and Lee's legion infantry, which were judiciously disposed for that purpose. Webster being supported by the chasseurs and Hessians, and Cornwallis planting his field pieces on commanding grounds, dismayed the militia so manifestly, that Williams gave them orders to retire; and then followed with Howard's battalion, flanked by a company of Delaware infantry and the infantry of the legion, the whole covered by Washington's cavalry. The cavalry of the legion covered the baggage and ammunition waggons, which accidentally took a different route. Thus ended the designs of Lord Cornwallis for that day, which was too far spent to admit of the execution of any important manœuvre.— The loss of the Americans was about 50 killed and wounded, that of the British probably much greater, as they twice sustained the unexpected fire of the former. Col. Williams retired three miles, and formed to await the enemy; but as they did not advance he proceeded further, and encamped that evening about seven miles from the place of action. It may be thought worthy of being recorded, that Mr. Perry, sergeant major, and Mr. Lunsford, quarter master sergeant of the 3d American regiment of dragoons, two spirited young fellows, being separately detached with each four dragoons, as parties of observation on the retreat; saw 16 or 18 horsemen of the British army in new levy uniforms ride into a farm-house yard in an irregular manner; and some of them dismounted. They instantly joined their small force, seized the occasion, charged the horsemen, and in sight of the British legion, which was on the contrary side of the fence, cut every man down, and then retired without a fear.

While Greene was really unequal to even defensive operations, and waited to have his army strengthened, he lay for seven days within ten miles of Cornwallis's camp: but he took a new position every night; and kept it as a profound secret with himself.



self where the next was to be; so that his lordship could not gain intelligence of his situation in time to avail himself of it. During these manœuvres Greene was often obliged to ask bread of the common soldiers having none of his own. Cornwallis made a stroke at him twice but missed his aim. At length Greene was reinforced, with another brigade of militia from Virginia under General Lawson, and two from North Carolina under Generals Butler and Eaton, and 400 regulars raised for 18 months; this enabled him to dissolve the constitution of the light army on the 10th of March. The same day he wrote to Governor Jefferson—"Hitherto I have been obliged to practise that by finesse, which I dared not to attempt by force. I know the people have been in anxious suspense, waiting the event of a general action: but be the consequence of censure what it may, nothing shall hurry me into a measure, that is not suggested by prudence, or connects not with it the interest of the southern department."

Lord Cornwallis not immediately urging his plan of bringing on a general action, but moving toward New Garden, alias the Quaker meeting-house, gave Greene the opportunity of arranging his army a-new, and of making every preparation for an engagement. This he now determined to venture upon, as he thought himself sufficiently strong; and foresaw that by delaying any time he should probably be weakened through the withdrawal of many militia men; beside, there would be a great difficulty of subsisting long in the field in so exhausted a country. On the 14th he marched his army to Guilford court-house, and took a position within eight miles of Cornwallis's encampment. His force consisted of Hugar's brigade of Virginia continentals, 778 present and fit for duty; of Williams's Maryland brigade and Delawares, 630; and of the infantry of Lee's partizan legion, 82—total of continental regulars, 1490: besides these there were 1060 militia from North Carolina, and 1693 from Virginia, in all 2753. The whole army consisted of 4243 foot, and of 161 cavalry, including Washington's light dragoons 86, and of Lee's legion 75. Before the engagement began, the Marquis of Bretagne joined the army with about 40 horse, very few accoutred as horsemen, but mounted as infantry. On the morning of the 15th the Americans were supplied with provisions, and a gill of rum per man; and orders were issued for the whole to be in perfect readiness for action.

Lord Cornwallis, being convinced from Gen. Greene's movements that he intended to venture an engagement, sent off his baggage under a proper escort on the 14th of March; and the next morning at day break, marched with the remainder of his army.

army, amounting to about 2400 men, chiefly troops grown veteran in victories, either to meet Greene on the way, or to attack him in his encampment. By this, Greene's design of attacking his lordship was anticipated. About three miles from the American army, the British advance guard under Tarleton fell in with Lee's legion, Campbell and Lynch's riflemen. Lee's dragoons killed about fifty of Tarleton's, and the riflemen are thought to have killed and wounded more than 100 infantry. This skirmish gave Greene time to form his army, within about a mile and a quarter of Guildford court-house. The British advanced through a field beyond which was a fence and a thick wood. In the skirts of this wood next to the field, the first American line was drawn up, consisting of the North Carolina militia. The second line behind that was formed of the Virginia militia. The third and last line consisted of the Maryland and Virginia continentals under Huger and Williams. Washington with his cavalry, and a corps of Delaware light infantry and some riflemen under Col. Lynch, covered the right flank; and Lee with his legion and some riflemen under Col. Campbell, the left. The whole were so strongly posted that Greene was fearful lest Cornwallis should not attack them in front, but change his position and fall upon their flanks. The front line was only in sight; the two others being covered by the wood in which they were posted. The Americans had two pieces of cannon in the field before them. After a brisk cannonade between them and the British, which lasted from about half an hour after one till two, the latter advanced in three columns, the Hessians on the right, the guards in the centre, and Webster's brigade on the left. The whole moved on toward the North Carolinians, who waited the attack, until the enemy got within 140 yards, when part of them fired once, while a great number ran away without firing or being fired upon. All the exertions of their officers to rally them were ineffectual. They deserted the most advantageous post Greene ever saw, and let in the enemy upon the second line composed of the Virginia militia under Stevens. He had the address to prevent his brigade from receiving any bad impressions from the retreating North Carolinians, by giving out that they had orders to retire after discharging their pieces. To cherish this idea he ordered his men to open their files to favor their passage. The Virginians behaved much better than the Carolinians, did great execution, and kept up their fire till they were ordered to retreat. Stevens had posted forty riflemen at equal distances, twenty paces in the rear of his brigade, with orders to shoot every man who should leave his post. That brave officer, though wounded through the thigh, did not quit the



the field. The continental troops were last engaged, and fought with great spirit. The contest was long and severe: but the British carried their point by superior discipline. They broke the second Maryland regiment, turned the American left flank, and got into the rear of the Virginia brigade, and appeared to be gaining Greene's right, which would have encircled the whole of the continental troops, so that he thought it advisable to order a retreat. About this time Washington made a charge with the horse on a part of the brigade of British guards, and the first regiment of Marylanders following the horse with their bayonets, near the whole of the party fell a sacrifice. Huger with the Virginia brigade was the last that engaged; and gave the enemy a check. After a hard battle of near two hours the American retreated in good order to the Reedy Fork, and crossed the river, about three miles from the field of action. They halted, drew up till they had collected most of the stragglers, and then retired to Speedwell's Iron Works, ten miles distant from Guilford. Greene lost his artillery (the two six pounders that Morgan had lately recovered, with two others) and two ammunition waggons, the greatest part of the horses being killed before the retreat began.

This victory cost the British dear. Their killed and wounded exceeded 600 men, beside officers. The guards lost Colonel Stuart, with the Captains Schütz, Maynard and Goodriche, beside subalterns. Col. Webster, a brave experienced and distinguished officer, died of his wounds to the regret of the royal army. Brigadier Generals O'Hara and Howard, and Col. Tarleton, with several other officers, were wounded.

About 300 of the continentals and 100 of the Virginia militia were killed and wounded, among the former was Major Anderson of the Maryland line, a most valuable officer. Among the latter was Huger, beside Stevens already mentioned. Of the North Carolina militia six were killed and three wounded, and 552 missing. Of the Virginia militia 294 were missing. Few of the missing were made prisoners. They returned home, and never rejoined the camp; so that Gen. Greene's army sustained a greater diminution than the British. It was however soon apparent, that the advantages of the engagement were on his side.

Though Lord Cornwallis issued out a proclamation [March 18.] three days after the battle, setting forth his complete victory, and calling on all loyal subjects to stand forth and take an active part in restoring good government, and offering pardon and protection to all rebels; murderers excepted; yet on the 19th he decamped, abandoning all his boasted advantages, and his hospital at  
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the Quaker meeting-house, containing between 70 and 80 wounded British officers and soldiers. He also left behind him all the wounded Americans taken on the 15th, and retreated toward Cross Creek. Greene expected that he would have advanced, and therefore had prepared for another action; but upon hearing that his lordship was attempting to avoid it, he pursued him the next day with all possible expedition. Greene having no means of providing for the wounded of his own and the British forces, wrote a letter to the neighbouring inhabitants of the quaker persuasion, in which he mentioned his being brought up a quaker, and observed that an opportunity offered for the exercise of their humanity, without confining themselves to either party, by taking care of the wounded both British and Americans, who must otherwise perish. His recommendations and arguments prevailed, and the quakers supplied the hospitals with all that was wanting till the sick and wounded recovered.

So great was the avidity of the Americans to renew the conflict with Cornwallis, that notwithstanding the weather was very wet and the roads deep, they marched almost constantly without any regular supply of provisions. On the morning of the 28th they arrived at Ramsay's mills on Deep river, a strong position which his lordship evacuated a few hours before, by crossing the river on a bridge erected for that purpose. Evident signs of precipitation were found in and about his lordship's encampment. Several of the dead were left on the ground unburied. Beef in quarters was found in the slaughter pen, on which the hungry continentals fed greedily; but that not being sufficient to allay their keen appetites, they eat without a murmur the garbage which was meant for the buzzards. \* Cornwallis had now fairly the start of Greene, and was in a situation to maintain his advantage. He was on the south side of Deep river, with Cape Fear on his left, and supplies for his army in front: whereas Greene was too far advanced to expect any immediate succour from the country behind him; he was therefore under the necessity of giving up the pursuit. † Nothing but blood and slaughter has prevailed among the whigs and tories in that part of the country which has been the scene of the late transactions, and their inveteracy against each other must depopulate it if continued.

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\* Colonel O. H. Williams's MS.

† The advantages of Colonel O. H. Williams's official papers, of private letters, and of subsequent conversation with General Greene, for the purpose of information, has occasioned a variation in diverse parts of the above narrative from Dr. Ramsay and others.



Here let us close our account of the operations under Lord Cornwallis and General Greene, and enter upon those that relate to Virginia.

General Arnold, with near 50 sail of vessels, arrived in the Chesapeake by the end of December. He landed, with about 1500 men and a few light horse, fifteen miles below Richmond, and marched into that town about 12 o'clock on the 5th of January. The public stores and buildings were destroyed; together with the rope walk, and the rum and salt in the merchants hands. The troops went on eight miles to destroy the foundery and magazine at West-Ham; but the arms and ammunition had been removed to Manchester, in Powhatan county, where the governor was, with Baron Steuben, who had arrived from the northward by the beginning of December. The next day at noon they retreated the same way they came; with the design of committing those destructions in other places, that might disable the state as far as possible from making effectual opposition to the plans of the British ministry. They afterward landed on the 15th and marched to Smithfield; and from thence they proceeded to Portsmouth by land. Here Arnold took post, and began to fortify by the 20th, as the militia were collecting apace, under Baron Steuben, Generals Nelson, Weedon and Muhlenburgh: but it was the unhappiness of the state to be destitute of arms, and (by bad management) of almost every thing else necessary for defence. Gen. Washington laid a plan for catching Arnold and his detachment, which was serviceable, though unsuccessful in the main point. The general was the more eager in it, having been confirmed by letters found on board captured vessels, in the intelligence he had before received of a British project, to make a lasting establishment in Virginia. Four ships of the British fleet, which had been lying for some time in Gardener's-bay, sailed on the 22d as far eastward as Narraganset-bay. A gale of wind and a very thick snow coming on at night, the Culloden was totally lost, and the Bedford dismasted, each carrying 74 guns. No sooner did the general receive a certain account of the same, than he put in motion, under the command of the Marquis de la Fayette, 1200 light infantry, as large a part of his small force as he could, with prudence, detach to Virginia. He at the same time intimated to Count de Rochambeau the possibility and importance of improving the opportunity in an attempt upon Arnold; and requested of him and the Chevalier d'Estouches (to whom the command of the French fleet had devolved upon the death of Admiral Ternay) to send the whole fleet, and a detachment of their land force

to the Chesapeake. Instead of the whole, a part only of the fleet was sent; the *Eveillie* a 64 gun ship, and two frigates, under the command of Mons. Tilly. They sailed from Newport on the 9th of February, with orders to go to the Chesapeake, and attempt the destruction of the British ships there, and the frigates that protected them. They returned on the 25th without accomplishing the object of their mission, though the precautions taken by the enemy. They however took or destroyed ten vessels and brought to Newport the *Romulus* of 44 guns, which they captured at the entrance of the bay. Washington, desirous of stopping the progress of the enemy in Virginia, proceeded to Newport, that he might discourse with the French commander on the measures proper to be pursued. He went first on board d'Estouches' ship in the forenoon of March the 6th, where Rochambeau met him. It was agreed that d'Estouches should sail immediately; and that Rochambeau should send on board the men of war, a detachment of the army under the Baron de Vio-meuil. After spending an hour or two on board, Washington and Rochambeau landed at Newport about one o'clock. The necessary measures were taken to expedite the fleet: but instead of sailing the next day when the wind was as favorable for the French, and as adverse to the British as it could blow, they were delayed 24 hours for want of supplies. They sailed on Thursday evening the 8th of March. They were followed on the Saturday by the British from Gardener's bay under Admiral Arbuthnot, who made such expedition as to intercept them off Cape Henry on the 16th. The two fleets were well poised in point of strength, the superiority of a few guns on the side of the British, being counterbalanced by the greater number of men on the other. The line was composed of eight ships on each side, including the *Romulus* of 44 guns in the French, and *Adamant* of 50 in the British. A partial engagement took place. Each side claimed the advantage: but the French abandoned their design of succouring Virginia, and returned to Newport on the 26th. Had they gained the Chesapeake before overtaken by the British, Washington is of opinion, that the plan against Arnold could not have failed of success. The return of the French disconcerted the Marquis de la Fayette. On his arrival at Annapolis in Maryland, he left his troops there, and hastened down the Chesapeake to get a body of militia in readiness for co-operation: but upon hearing what had taken place, he marched back with his detachment to the Head of Elk.

Sir Henry Clinton, to support the southern operations and increase



increase their success, forwarded a convoy to the Chesapeak, with about 2000 choice troops on board under General Phillips, whom he appointed to the chief command in Virginia. They arrived on the 25th of March. Among the greatest misfortunes to the American cause occasioned by the invasion of this state, must be reckoned the obstructions it has thrown on every preparation for the support of the southern army. It has kept back the raising of recruits and every supply.

Certain acts and concerns of Congress remain to be related.

The capture of Mr. Laurens by the British made it necessary for Congress to appoint another gentleman to supply his place. They therefore commissioned Mr. John Adams, on the first of January, to be their minister plenipotentiary to the States General of the Dutch United Provinces. He was also empowered to negotiate a loan of money among the Hollanders; and in confidence of his success they directed, on the 3d of January, bills of exchange to be drawn upon him at six months sight. On the 3d of February they agreed—"That it be recommended to the several states, as indispensably necessary, that they vest a power in Congress, to levy for the use of the United States, a duty of five per cent, *ad valorem*, at the time and place of importation, upon all goods and merchandises of foreign growth and manufactures, which may be imported into any of the said states from any foreign port, island or plantation, after the first day of May, 1781, except arms, ammunition, clothing, and other articles imported on account of the United States, or any of them; and except wool cards and cotton cards, and wire for making them; and also except salt, during the war;—Also a like duty of five per cent. on all prizes and prize goods, condemned in the court of admiralty of any of these states as lawful prize:—That the money arising from the said duties be appropriated to the discharge of the principal and interest of the debts already contracted, or which may be contracted, on the faith of the United States, for supporting the present war:—That the said duties be continued until the said debts shall be fully and finally discharged." Some gentlemen object to the recommendation, or at least a compliance with it, and say—"Drawing money insensibly from the people by imposts may be a favorite scheme in monarchies and aristocracies; but in republican governments, such as are established in America, is inexpedient, if not dangerous. When money is drawn from the people insensibly, they are less attentive to abuses in the expenditure: but when they are called upon for taxes and feel the burden of them, they are more watchful to see that they are properly applied.

plied, and to prevent the rulers from bribing the people with their own money, and subverting the public liberty by the means put into their hands for securing and defending it." It will be long before the several states can be prevailed upon to vest Congress with the desired power.

Congress, on the 6th of February, ordered that the drawing of the fourth and last class of the United States lottery should begin on the 2d of April. Through the Amazing depreciation of the paper currency, the whole will turn out a simple piece of business, and disappoint the original hopes both of the fortunate adventurers and of Congress.

February 20th, they proceeded by ballot to the election of a superintendant of finance, to examine into the state of the public debts, expenditures, and revenue: to digest and report plans for improving and regulating the finances, and for establishing order and economy in the expenditure of the public money: and to the exercise of many other powers necessary to complete the financier. Robert Morris, Esq; of Philadelphia was unanimously elected.

The 27th, they passed a commendatory resolution respecting Captain John Paul Jones; and further resolved, that Dr. Franklin should acquaint his Most Christian Majesty, that his majesty's offer of adorning Captain Jones with the cross of military merit was highly acceptable to Congress. The small squadron which the captain commanded in 1779, was fitted out at the expence of his Most Christian Majesty, who honored him with a French commission. Mons. de Sartine, the minister of the marine, requested Dr. Franklin to strengthen the squadron by ordering the Alliance to join it, which was immediately done.

On the 12th of February the Maryland delegates laid before Congress an act of their state, empowering them to subscribe and ratify the articles of confederation. The 1st of March was afterward fixed upon for their doing it. Maryland having no vacant western territory, contended, with great justice, that the unappropriated western country should be the common property of the union, and pledged as a fund for sinking the continental debt; and declined acceding to the confederation till some satisfaction should be given upon that subject. But Congress having recommended it to the states, claiming such country, to remove the only obstacle to a final ratification; and then earnestly requested the legislature of Maryland to empower their delegates, they accordingly did so on the 30th of last January. They concurred in the measure, as well from a desire to perpetuate and strengthen the union, as from a confidence in the justice and generosity of the larger states,



states, and that superior to local interests, they would consent to such arrangements of the unappropriated lands, included in their respective charters, as good policy required, and the great exertions of their own state in the common cause had so highly deserved. When the 1st of March was arrived, the New York delegates, by virtue of the powers with which their legislature had intrusted them, proceeded by an official act in Congress to limit and restrict the boundaries of that state, and to relinquish all right, jurisdiction and claim, to all lands to the northward and westward of the same, to be disposed of as the Congress of the confederated states should direct. The Maryland delegates then proceeded to sign and ratify the articles of confederation. This important event has been communicated to the executives of the several states; and the American ministers in Europe have been ordered to notify it to the respective courts at which they reside.

Though a longer delay on the part of Maryland might have been productive of bad consequences, yet there are several members of Congress, who are sensible of its having been highly beneficial upon many occasions. As seven states were a majority, whenever that number met it was considered as the representative body of the thirteen; and if four out of the seven\* agreed, it passed for the voice of the United States, even in those cases, which by the confederation required the concurrence of nine states.—The want of such concurrence, had the confederation been perfected at a very early date, would have prevented the execution of much business of the highest importance.

March 16th, Congress resolved—"That it be, and hereby is recommended to the several states, to amend their laws making the bills of credit emitted, under the authority of Congress, a legal tender, so that such bills shall not be a tender in any other manner than at their current value compared with gold or silver." The same day they resolved—"That the states be immediately called upon to furnish for the public expences, and for carrying on the war, their proportion of one million five hundred thousand dollars quarterly, the first quarterly payment to be made on the 1st day of June next." Neither of these resolves will be sufficiently productive.

This shall close with an extract from a letter of General Washington, written the beginning of April—"I give it decisively as my opinion, that without a foreign loan our present force, which  
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\* When Congress confirmed the sentence of the court martial on General Lee, it was by a vote of four out of eleven present.

is but the remnant of an army, cannot be kept together this campaign, much less will it be increased, and in readiness for another. If France delays a timely and powerful aid in the critical posture of our affairs, it will avail us nothing should she attempt it hereafter. We are at this hour suspended in the balance: we cannot transport the provisions from the states in which they are assessed, to the army, because we cannot pay the teamsters who will no longer work for certificates.—In a word we are at the end of our tether, and now or never our deliverance must come.”

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## L E T T E R VII.

FRIEND G.

*Rotterdam, May 5, 1781.*

**A**S soon as the rupture between Great Britain and Holland was known at Versailles, the king gave immediate orders that all the Dutch vessels in any of the French ports should be made acquainted with it; and accordingly a circular letter was written by the Marquis de Castries on the 25th of last December, and sent to the several ports. The first material capture made by the British, after the hostile manifesto against the Dutch, was that of the Rotterdam of 50 guns and 300 men belonging to the States General, by the Warwick, Captain Elphinstone, on the 5th of January.

On the 9th the Dutch council of state proposed, that the marine of the republic should consist of 94 ships and armed vessels, and 18,430 seamen. There were to be 11 ships of the line, 15 of 50 guns and 2 of 40. Three days after, the States General published a placart, granting letters of marque against the British. This was followed after a time by an answer to the British manifesto.

Notwithstanding the necessary increase of national expences in Great Britain by the Dutch war, yet toward the end of January, the house of commons hearkened to the calls of humanity, and in consequence of different petitions, voted for the relief of the sufferers by the hurricane at Barbadoes 80,000*l.* and at Jamaica 40,000*l.*

A second attempt has been made on the Isle of Jersey. The Baron de Rullecourt, at the head of about 2000 men, conducted it. By the badness of the weather near half his troops were driv-



en back to France, and never joined him. He at length however made his way with difficulty, through the rocks of la Roque-Platte; and landed a number in the dark, three miles from St. Helier, the capital of the island; though five vessels were lost, and 200 of his men perished. A small party of militia, meant for the guard of a redoubt in the place, were seized asleep by the enemy, who were thus, for several hours, on the island without an alarm's being given. The baron, leaving about 120 men in the redoubt, marched to St. Helier. He secured the avenues of the town, surprised the guards in the dark, and possessed the market place without noise. The inhabitants were astonished at break of day, on finding themselves in the hands of an enemy.—Major Corbet, the deputy governor, with the magistrates and principal people, being brought prisoners to the court-house, the French commander wrote terms of capitulation, which he proposed to have signed; and by which the island was to be surrendered to France, and the troops to lay down their arms and be sent to Great Britain. It was in vain remonstrated, that no act of the lieut. governor's could have the smallest validity in his present situation. Rullecourt was peremptory, and Corbet too inadvertently signed. The French commander then summoned Elizabeth castle under the terms of the capitulation. Captains Aylward and Mulcaster, having escaped thither on the first alarm, and being now in a degree prepared against a sudden attack, rejected the summons, and refused paying the smallest regard to the capitulation, or any orders issued by the lieut. governor in the present circumstances. The French placing Corbet in their front, advanced toward the gate, but were fired upon with such vigor from the castle, that they soon made the best of their way back to the town for shelter.

Mean while the alarm extended, and the nearest troops and militia advanced toward the point of danger, and formed on the heights near the town under Major Pierfon, who instantly secured a hill of great advantage, which the enemy had overlooked.—Rullecourt sent to the major, requiring his compliance with the terms of the capitulation; and received for answer, "that if he and his troops did not lay down their arms within twenty minutes, and surrender themselves prisoners of war, at the expiration of that time, they might be certain of an attack." Pierfon was punctual to his word: and made an assault on the town in, all accessible parts with such impetuosity, that the enemy were driven rapidly upon the centre of their force in the market place, where the action was soon decided; for Rullecourt being mortally wounded, the next in command seeing the hopelessness of their situation,

tuation, requested the lieutenant governor to resume his authority, and to accept of their surrender as prisoners of war. The satisfaction arising from so sudden a deliverance, and so brave an exertion, was damped by the fall of Major Pierlon, who was shot through the heart in the instant of victory. The extraordinary military abilities displayed by so young an officer (for he was only five and twenty) rendered his death an object of general regret. During the engagement the redoubt was retaken with fixed bayonets, and without firing a shot, by the grenadiers of the 83d regiment. Thus the whole French party, amounting to near 800, were either killed or taken.

On the 24th of January, Lord George Gordon was privately taken from the Tower to Westminster-hall, arraigned, and ordered to prepare for trial on Monday the 5th of February. When he came to be tried, though the crowd was very large, order was observed, and there was no mischief or violence. About five the next morning he was acquitted. On the news of his acquittal, there were rejoicings and illuminations at Glasgow, Paisley, Dunbar, Montrose, Brechin, and a great number of other towns and villages in Scotland. The protestant association at Glasgow made a subscription of several hundred pounds, toward defraying his lordship's expences. It has been suggested, that government did not wish to convict his lordship for fear of offending too many of the Scots.

The garrison and inhabitants of Gibraltar, having received no supplies of provision from Great Britain since the beginning of the preceding year, nor from the Barbary shores, nor the most distant coasts of Africa, were reduced to extreme distress. The governor, ever since October, made a reduction of a quarter of a pound from each man's daily allowance of bread. Their meat was reduced to a pound and a half in the week, and at length was scarcely eatable. The inhabitants had to pay for bad ship biscuit, full of worms, a shilling a pound; the same for flour in no better condition; eighteen pence for salt, the sweeping of ships bottoms and store-houses; half a crown for old Irish salt butter; and the same for the worst brown sugar. When the arrival of the vessels from the Mediterranean opened a market for fresh provisions, turkies sold for 3l. 12s. a piece; sucking pigs at two guineas; ducks at half a guinea; and small hens at nine shillings. A guinea was refused for a calf's pluck; and one pound seven shillings for an ox-head. The interest and honor of Great Britain were deeply engaged in the timely relief of that fortress. It was accordingly one of the first objects of government in the commencement of the year; and the grand fleet under the conduct of

Adms,



Adms. Darby, Digby, and Sir J. Lockhart Ross, was fitted out early for this service: but only 28 sail of the line could be spared. The French had, at the same time, a fleet little inferior either in number or force, nearly ready for sea at Brest.

The British fleet sailed [March 13.] with the great East and West India convoys: but met with a delay on the coast of Ireland, in waiting for the victuallers from Corke, which were to proceed with them to Gibraltar. The East and West India convoys having proceeded on their respective voyages, the British fleet with 97 transports, storeships and victuallers, arrived off Cadiz the 12th of April. Don Cordova with the Spanish fleet, had put into the harbour; and Adm. Darby having explored the same, forwarded the convoy to Gibraltar, with some men of war and frigates to cover them, while he cruised with the main body of the fleet off the Straits mouth to watch the enemy. The Spaniards had been for some time employed in constructing a number of gun and bomb boats. The gun boats carried each a long 26 pounder, which threw shot further than any ship's guns could reach. This force was rendered still more dangerous by the addition of the bomb boats upon a similar construction. With these they cannonaded and bombarded the British ships every morning, till the wind, at its stated hour, began to spring up, when they fled and were pursued in vain. But they failed in their grand object, and no material damage was done to any part of the shipping.

Nothing could be more grievous to Spain than this relief. She seems to have set her heart so entirely on the recovery of Gibraltar, as not to have had another object in the war. The whole naval and military force of the kingdom, and its resources of every sort, appear to have been directed mainly to that single point. These various powers were called into action, and the unfortunate town, with its miserable inhabitants, were the victims of her indignation. One hundred and seventy pieces of cannon, of the heaviest metal, and eighty mortars, disgorged their tremendous torrents of fire all at once upon that narrow spot. This dreadful cannonade and bombardment was continued night and day, for a considerable time without intermission. Nothing could be more splendidly magnificent, or dreadfully sublime, than the view and report of this tremendous scene, to those who observed them from the neighbouring hills of Barbary and Spain during the night; especially in the beginning, when the cannonade of the enemy being returned by Gen. Elliot, with still superior power and greater fierceness, the whole rock seemed to vomit out fire, and all distinction of parts was lost in flame and smoke. The artillery

officers and engineers in the garrison computed, that during more than three weeks from the first attack, the Spaniards continued regularly to expend, at least, a thousand barrels of gunpowder, of a hundred weight each, and to fire from four to five thousand shot and shells, in every 24 hours upon the fortrefs. After discharging 75,000 shot, and 25,000 shells in this course of firing, it was lowered to about 600 of both in the 24 hours.

When Adm. Rodney returned from New-York to St. Lucie toward the close of the last year, the reports of the dismantled state of St. Vincent through the hurricane, induced him and Gen. Vaughan to undertake an expedition for the recovery of that island: but after landing a number of troops with the marines, on the 16th of December, and continuing a day on the island, the French were found in such force, and their works in such condition, that the commanders were obliged to reembark the troops without venturing upon an attack.

Not much more than a month after this attempt, the commanders, in consequence of instructions from Great Britain, directed their views to the reduction of the Dutch island St. Eustatia. This island, though barren and contemptible in itself, had long been the seat of a lucrative and prodigious commerce; and might be considered as the grand free port of the West Indies and America, and as a general market and magazine to all nations. Its richest harvests, however, were during the seasons of warfare among its neighbours, owing to its neutrality and situation with its unbounded and unclogged freedom of trade. The island is a natural fortification; and has but one landing place, which may be easily rendered impracticable to an enemy. The inhabitants, though not very numerous, included a portion of the natives of almost all trading countries.

The British fleet and army appeared [Feb. 3.] before and surrounded St. Eustatia with a great force. Rodney and Vaughan sent a peremptory summons to the governor, to surrender the island and its dependencies within an hour; accompanied with a threat, that if any resistance was made he must abide the consequences. Mr. De Graaff, totally ignorant of the rupture between Great Britain and Holland, could scarcely believe the officer, who delivered the summons, to be serious. But he returned for answer, that being utterly incapable of making any defence, he must of necessity surrender, only recommending the town and inhabitants to the clemency of the British commanders. The wealth of the place excited the astonishment of the conquerors. The whole island seemed to be one vast magazine. All the storehouses were filled with various commodities; and the very beach was covered



ed with hogheads of sugar and tobacco. The value was estimated considerably above three millions sterling. But this was only a part; for above 150 vessels of all denominations, many of them richly laden, were captured in the bay, exclusive of a Dutch frigate of 38 guns, and five smaller.

The neighbouring small isles of St Martin and Saba were reduced in the same manner; and Rodney being informed, that a fleet of about 30 large ships, richly laden with sugar and other West India commodities, had sailed from Eustatia for Holland just before his arrival, under convoy of a flag ship of 60 guns, he dispatched the Monarch and Panther with the Sybil frigate, in pursuit of them. These soon overtook the convoy; and the Dutch admiral, refusing to strike his colours, and all remonstrances proving ineffectual, a short engagement took place between his ship the Mars and the Monarch. He died bravely in defence of his ship; when she instantly struck, and the whole convoy was taken.

This is one of the severest blows that Holland could have received. The Dutch West India company, with the magistracy and citizens of Amsterdam, are great sufferers upon the occasion. But the greatest weight of the calamity seems to have fallen on the British merchants, who confiding in the neutrality of the place, and in some acts of parliament made to encourage their bringing their property from the islands lately taken by the French, had accumulated a great quantity of West India produce, as well as European goods, in the place: for all the property was indiscriminately seized, inventoried, and declared to be confiscated.

The keeping of Dutch colours flying at Eustatia, rendered it for some time a decoy to French, Dutch, and American vessels, a considerable number of which fell accordingly into the hands of the conquerors without trouble.

The indiscriminate seizure and confiscation of property in the island, induced the merchants of St. Christopher (or St. Kitt's) to present two memorials to Admiral Rodney and General Vaughan, for themselves, and as agents and factors for many of the most commercial houses in Great Britain and Ireland. They stated, that their connections with St. Eustatia, and the property they had lodged there, were all in pursuance to, and under the sanction of repeated acts of the British parliament; and that their commerce had beside been entirely founded on the fair principles of merchandize, and conducted according to the rules and maxims adopted by all trading nations. The second memorial was carried and delivered to Rodney by Mr. Glanville the 11th of March. The admiral in a line to him answered, that "their effects

effects at St. Eustatius could only be lodged as a deposit to supply the necessities of their king and their country's enemies. The island was Dutch, every thing in it was Dutch, every thing was under the protection of the Dutch flag, and as Dutch it shall be treated." Mr. Glanville made a sensible reply on the 13th of March, and observed—"That if the king's enemies were supplied, by the trade of his subjects through St. Eustatius, they were likewise supplied, through the same channel, *by the sale of prizes captured by his majesty's ships of war.* The one fact is as notorious as the other, and equally criminal."

After the surrender of Eustatia, the Jews who were numerous and wealthy were the first sufferers. Several of them were torn from their habitations with many indignities, and banished without knowing the place of their destination; and were, in that state of wretchedness which followed the seizure of their property, transported as outlaws, and landed at St. Kitt's. The assembly, to their great honor, instantly passed an act for their present relief and future provision, until they should have time to recover from their calamitous situation. The Jews were soon followed by the Americans, some of whom had been obliged to fly their native country, through the part which they had taken in support of the British cause. These also were sent to St. Kitt's, in much the same state with the former; and were received and entertained with the same humanity and liberality by the people and legislature of that island. The French merchants and traders were next banished; and at length the Amsterdammers met with the same fate. Mean while public sales were advertised, invitation given, and protection afforded to purchasers of all nations and classes; and the island exhibited one of the greatest auctions that ever was opened in the universe. Never was a better market for buyers. The goods were sold for a trifling proportion of their value; and by report, the French agents made the greatest and most lucrative purchases. Most of the goods were conveyed to French and Danish islands; and left to find their way to those enemies for having supplied whom, in the ordinary commerce, Eustatia suffered so severely. This whole business, from beginning to end, has brought upon Great Britain the odium of all Europe.

A squadron of privateers, mostly belonging to Bristol, upon hearing of the rupture with Holland, boldly entered the rivers of Demarara and Isequibo, and with no small degree of courage and enterprise, brought out from under the Dutch forts and batteries, almost all the vessels of any value in either river. The prizes were considerable: but Admiral Rodney, in his official letter of  
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the 17th of March, observed in the postscript—"The Dutch ships seized by the privateers at Demarara are droits to the admiralty, the privateers having no commission to take them." He mentioned also the surrender of the French island of St. Bartholomew on the 16th.

The inhabitants of the two Dutch colonies of Demarara and Ilesquibo, sensible of their defenceless situation, had already made a tender of their submission to the governor of Barbadoes, requiring no other terms but a participation of those which had been granted to Eustatia and its dependencies. A deputation was sent to Admiral Rodney and General Vaughan to learn what were these terms. The deputies found that the colonists had made an improvident demand, as in effect the terms which they required were, that they might be despoiled of all their goods, and banished from their habitations. But a nice line of distinction was drawn between the honesty and good properties of Dutchmen inhabiting the continent, and of those living in Eustatia: and the continental colonists were accordingly fully secured in their property, and had every indulgence granted, which could have been fairly expected. However their countrymen, the Eustatian Islanders, have been obliged to undergo the opprobrium, of having the atrocious crime of perfidiousness publicly charged and recorded against them in the London gazettes; and therefore of being unworthy of any degree of protection, much less of indulgence.

The Dutch war prevented the sending of the second French naval division to the assistance of the United States of America as at first intended; and put the court of Versailles upon the plan of augmenting their fleet in the West Indies, so as to secure it a superiority over the British. Accordingly Count de Grasse sailed from Brest the 22d of March, with a fleet of 25 sail of the line, the *Sagittaire* of 54 guns, 6000 land forces, and a prodigious convoy, amounting to between 2 and 300 ships; the whole composing one of the largest and richest fleets that ever sailed from France. Of this formidable armament, five ships of the line under Mr. de Suffrein, with part of the land forces, were destined for the East Indies; with a view likewise of intercepting Commodore Johnstone's squadron and convoy on their way; the last sailed from Spithead on the 13th of the same month, in company with the British grand fleet under Admiral Darby.

The East India Company received advice, about the middle of April, that in July of last year, Hyder Ally entered the Carnatic in different places; that some of their troops were afterwards attacked and defeated; that Sir Eyre Coote left Calcutta and sail-  
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ed with a reinforcement to Fort St. George, where he arrived the 5th of November, two days after Arcot had surrendered to Hyder. Their affairs in that quarter have but a threatening aspect; but Sir Eyre is attempting all in his power to retrieve them.

Mr. John Adams presented to their High Mightinesses, the States General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries, a memorial dated Leyden, April 19, 1781. In which he informed them, that the United States of America had lately thought fit to send him a commission (with full powers and instructions) to confer with them concerning a treaty of amity and commerce; and that they had appointed him to be their minister plenipotentiary to reside near them. Similar information was communicated at the same time to the Stadtholder, his Serene Highness the Prince of Orange. Mr. Adams meant to conciliate the affections of all parties; that so they might unite in supporting the measure he wished to obtain.

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## LETTER VIII.

*Roxbury, Sept. 15, 1781.*

**L**ORD Cornwallis having crossed the Deep river, General Greene resolved on carrying the war without delay into South Carolina; thereby to oblige the enemy to follow him, or to endanger their posts in that state. He expected that if the former took place, North Carolina would not continue the seat of war; if the latter, that they would lose more than they could gain in this last state; and that, did he remain in it, they would hold their possessions in both. He discharged all his militia; refreshed his regular troops; collected a few days provision; marched on the 5th of April toward Camden; and in the morning of the 20th, encamped at Log-town within sight of the enemy's works. On this march Lieut. Col Lee, with his partizan legion, was detached to join General Marion with a few volunteer South Carolina militia on a secret expedition. To secure the provisions that grow on the banks of the Santee and Congaree rivers, the British had erected a chain of posts in their vicinity. One of the most important was on Wright's-bluff, and called Fort Watson. To the surprise of the British it was closely invested on the 15th. Neither Lee nor Marion had any other means of annoyance



annoyance or defence but musketry. The ground on which the fort stood was an Indian mount, 30 or 40 feet high: the besiegers however erected, in a few days, on an unusual plan, a work much higher. From thence the American riflemen fired into the fort with such execution, that the besieged durst not show themselves. On the 23d, the garrison of 114 men surrendered by capitulation.

Camden was covered on the south and east sides by the Wateree, and a creek which empties itself into that river: on the western and northern by six strong redoubts. It was defended by Lord Rawdon with about 900 men. The American army consisted of 843 continental infantry, beside 56 cavalry and 31 dismounted dragoons; together with 254 North Carolina militia who had joined them by the 25th. It was unequal to the task of carrying the place by storm, as also of completely investing it. On the 21st Greene received intelligence, that Lieut. Col. Watson, who had made an incursion to Peedee, was on his return to Camden with 4 or 500 men: upon which he sent his baggage and artillery, which could not follow him, under a guard of militia, to a secure position, and threw all his regular troops below the town, where appearances indicated more forcible hostilities against the garrison; and frequent skirmishes evinced the enemy's apprehensions of danger upon that quarter: but the principal design of Greene, to intercept Watson, was prevented by his delay, and a report of his having crossed the Santee.

On the 24th the army returned to the north side of the town, orders being previously sent for the artillery and baggage to rejoin it at Hobkirk's hill, about a mile from Camden. The army took post on the hill, the better to improve the opportunity that any fortie might afford; and by its being more remote than the position formerly occupied, to impress the enemy with an idea of the Americans beginning to be apprehensive of their own danger. The precaution of calling the rolls often was taken; notwithstanding which, one Jones, a drummer, eluded the attention of the officers and the vigilance of the guards, and got safe into town. But nothing was apprehended from that circumstance, as the army was well posted, and desired nothing more than a field action.

On the morning of the 25th of April, this order was issued—"The troops are to be furnished with two days provision, and a gill of spirits per man as soon as the stores arrive." The provisions were issued; but the spirits being in the rear of the baggage train, did not arrive at the moment when they were most necessary. Lord Rawdon concluding that General Greene was

not

not prepared for an action, and that a favorable moment offered, marched out to attack him.

The Americans were cooking their victuals, and Greene was at breakfast, about ten o'clock, when some of his advanced sentinels, half a mile in front of the camp, fired upon the van of the British. The American troops were soon formed, and waited with cheerful countenances the approach of the enemy: Col. O. Williams then rode to head quarters, 2 or 300 yards in the rear of the line, and returned before they engaged. All the baggage, as is customary in general actions, was ordered off. The cavalry (which was unsaddled and feeding, on the first alarm) was now ready: and so certain was Greene of success, that without the least hesitation, he ordered Lieut. Col. Washington to turn the right flank of the British, and to charge in their rear. By this time the fire between the British van, and the American light infantry picquets became very lively; and the Maryland troops (who had been ordered to sit down) flood up and made ready. The second regiment, being on the left of the line, was ordered to advance and attack the British on their right flank, which was done by Lieut. Col. Ford, who received a mortal wound in the action: the first regiment, commanded by Col. Gunby, was ordered to charge the enemy in front. The two Virginia regiments were ordered to act in a similar manner upon the left of the British, and were led on by Greene in person, aided by Gen. Huger, Lieut. Cols. Campbell and Hawes. The artillery was well posted and doing great execution, and a small body of militia was coming into action, when suddenly a number of the Americans began to retire, though the danger was not apparently great, and every body seemed ignorant of the cause. Col. Williams was at this instant near the centre of the Maryland brigade, and with the assistance of Col. Gunby and other officers, endeavored to rally the men. They halted and gave a few fires; but could not be brought again to charge. A general retreat took place. Washington, in the execution of the order given him, had at one time possessed himself of near 200 prisoners: but he relinquished the greatest part on seeing the army retire. The officers he paroled on the field of battle; and then collecting his men, wheeled round, made his own retreat good with the loss of three men, and carried off with him fifty prisoners. The fortune of the day was irretrievable: but Greene, with his usual firmness, instantly took measures to prevent Rawdon's improving the success he had obtained. The retreat was conducted with such order and deliberation, that most of the American wounded, all their artillery and all their baggage, were safely



safely carried off, together with six royal commissioned officers, beside Washington's prisoners. The action was continued with intervals, till about four in the afternoon, and till the Americans had retreated about four miles; when a detachment of the infantry and cavalry, under Washington, were ordered to advance and annoy the British. The York volunteers, a handsome corps of horse, being a little advanced of the British infantry, Washington with great intrepidity, instantly charged them, killed a number and dispersed the rest. The British army, without attempting any thing further, retired to Camden, and Greene encamped the Americans about five miles from their former position. The field of battle was occupied only by the dead. The loss of the Americans in killed, wounded and missing, was 264.\* Among the first was Capt. Beatty of the Maryland line, one of the best of officers, and an ornament to his profession. Many of the missing returned.

The next day Greene in general orders commended the exertions of several corps; but implicitly and by silence censured the infantry of the battalions; which would not have been done had he known the real cause of their apparent misconduct. The virtual censure was severely felt, and the dissatisfaction of the troops upon the occasion, who said they were ordered to retire, and the complaints of many of the officers who acknowledged they had communicated such orders, at length produced, at the instance of Colonel Gunby, a court of inquiry. It then appeared that Gunby received orders to advance and charge bayonets without firing: this order was instantly communicated to the regiment; which advanced cheerfully for some distance, when a firing began on the right, and in a short time became general through the whole regiment. Soon after, two of the right hand companies gave way, when Gunby ordered the other four to be brought off. This was done, and they joined Gunby at the foot of the hill, where he was exerting himself in rallying the other two companies, and at length effected it. The regiment was again formed, and gave a fire or two as above related. Greene in general orders pronounced Gunby's spirit and activity unexceptionable; but his order for the regiment to retire extremely improper and unmilitary; and declared that to be the only probable cause why they did not obtain a complete victory.

On the 28th of April, Gen. Greene thus expressed himself in a letter to the Chevalier de la Luzerne—"This distressed country I am sure cannot struggle much longer, without more effectual support.

\* The return to the Board of War.

port. They may struggle a little while longer, but they must fall and I fear their fall will lay a train to sap the independence of the rest of America.—I have, agreeable to your excellency's advice, impressed the states all in my power with a sense of their danger; but they have not the means to make the necessary exertions.—We fight, get beaten, rise and fight again. The whole country is one continued scene of blood and slaughter." On the 1st of May he wrote to the Marquis de la Fayette—"You may depend upon it, that nothing can equal the sufferings of our little army, but their merit. Let not the love of fame get the better of your prudence; and plunge you into a misfortune in too eager a pursuit after glory. This is the voice of a friend, and not the caution of a general." Captain Smith of the Americans was deprived of the common indulgence allowed to prisoners, on a charge brought against him by deserters from Greene's army, of murdering an officer and three privates belonging to the guards after the action of Guildford. Greene complained of it to Lord Rawdon in a letter of May the 3d, and said—"Nothing can be more foreign to the truth than the charge. I have only to observe upon it, that had such a charge been made against any of your officers, whom the fortune of war had thrown into our hands, before I should have treated them with any peculiar marks of indignity, I should first have made the inquiry, and had the fact better established.—It is my wish that the war should be conducted upon the most liberal, national and generous principles; but I will never suffer an indignity or injury to be offered to our officers without retaliation."

Soon after the action with his lordship, Greene knowing that the British garrison in Camden could not subsist long without fresh supplies from Charlestown or the country, detached a reinforcement to Marion on the road to Nelson's ferry; and on the 3d of May crossed the Wateree, and took occasionally such positions as would most effectually prevent succours from going into the town from that quarter. On the 4th he wrote to governor Reed of Pennsylvania—"Those whose true interest it was to have informed congress and the people to the northward with the real state of things, have joined in the deception, and magnified the strength and resources of this country infinitely above their ability. Many of those who adhere to our party, are so fond of pleasure, that they cannot think of making the necessary sacrifices to support the revolution. There are many good and virtuous people to the southward; but they cannot animate the inhabitants in general, as you can to the northward.—When ruin appears to approach any state, they are alarmed and begin to think of exerting themselves;



themselves; but its approach no sooner receives a check, than they sink back into a careless inattention.—Virginia has exerted herself in giving a temporary support to the army; but her pleasure and her policy prevent her giving us such permanent aid, as her strength and resources are capable of affording.—Maryland has done nothing, nor can I hear of any exertions there equal to the emergency of war.—Delaware has not answered my letters.—These states have few men here, and those they have are daily discharged.—North Carolina has got next to no regulars in the field, and few militia, and these the worst in the world, for they have neither pride nor principle to bind them to any party, or to a discharge of their duty.—Generals Marion and Sumpter have a few people who adhere to them, perhaps more from a desire and the opportunity of plundering, than from any inclination to promote the independence of the United States.—I have been playing the most hazardous game to keep up appearances in this quarter, until more effectual support could be afforded. But our number is reduced to a mere shadow.—The war to the northward is nothing. It is a plain business. Here the war rages like a fire; and the enterprise and activity of the enemy almost exceed belief. I have run every risk and hazard, and find the difficulties thicken upon me daily; and you know I am not of a desponding spirit or idle temper.—If our good friends the French cannot lend a helping hand to save these sinking states, they must and will fall.—Here we are contending with more than five times our number, and among a people much more in the enemy's interest than ours." Greene complains in this letter of the Marylanders; but they had raised 500 regulars, who might have joined him in April, if proper pains had been taken by the executive power.

On the 7th of May Lord Rawdon received a considerable reinforcement by the arrival of the detachment under Watson.—With this increase of strength he attempted the next day to compel General Greene to another action, which he found to be impracticable. Failing in his design he returned to Camden; and on the 10th burned the jail, mills, many private houses, and a great deal of his own baggage. He then evacuated the post, and retired with his whole army to the south of the Santee, leaving about 30 of his own sick and wounded, and as many of the Americans. Greene's return to the southward being unexpected, the stores of the garrison were not provided for a siege; but the evacuation was hastened, as Greene apprehended, from an alarm that a measure of his had given them. While in the neighbourhood of Camden, he hanged in one day eight soldiers, who had deserted from his army, and were afterward taken prisoners. This execution,

execution, according to the information given him, almost bred a mutiny in the garrison, which was composed very much of deserters. It had a strong effect on his own troops, from whom there was no desertion for three months. Rawdon had the honor of saving his men, though he lost the post, the country, and the confidence of the tories. He offered every assistance in his power to the friends of British government who would accompany him, which was the choice of several families.

The evacuation of Camden animated the friends of Congress, and daily increased their numbers; while the British posts fell in quick succession. The day after the evacuation, the garrison of Orangeburgh, consisting of 70 British militia and 12 regulars, surrendered to Sumpter. Marion and Lee, after the capture of Fort Watson, crossed the Santee and moved up to Fort Motte, which lies above the Fork on the south side of the Congaree, where they arrived on the 8th of May. The British had built their works round Mrs. Motte's dwelling house which occasioned her moving to a neighbouring hut. She was informed that firing the house was the easiest mode of reducing the garrison: upon that she presented the besiegers with a quiver of African arrows, to be employed in the service. Skewers armed with combustible materials were also used, and with more effect. Success soon crowned these experiments, and her joy was inexpressible upon finding that the reduction of the post had been expedited, though at the expence of her property. The firing of her house compelled the garrison of 165 men, to surrender at discretion on the 12th of May, after a brave defence. Two days after, the British evacuated their post at Nelson's ferry. On the 15th, Fort Granby, about 30 miles to the westward of Fort Motte, was reduced. The preceding night Lee erected a battery within 600 yards of its out-works, on which he mounted a six pounder hastily brought from Fort Motte. After the third discharge from this field piece, Major Maxwell capitulated. His force consisted of 352 men, a great part royal militia. Very advantageous terms were given them, in consequence of information that Lord Rawdon was marching to their relief. They had the offer of security to their baggage, in which was included an immense quantity of plunder. This hastened the surrender. The American militia were much disgusted, that the garrison was so favored. They indicated an inclination for breaking the capitulation, and killing the prisoners. When Greene heard of it, he solemnly declared that he would put to death any one that should be guilty of so doing.

The day after the surrender of Fort Granby, Lee began his march to join Pickens, who, with a body of militia, was in the neighbourhood



neighbourhood of Augusta; and in four days completed it. On the 21st of May, the British post at Silver Bluff, called Fort Dreadnought, with six commissioned officers and 70 staff, non-commissioned and privates, beside a field piece and a large quantity of stores, surrendered to a detachment of the legion under Capt. Rudolph. Pickens and Lee had for their object the reduction of Fort Cornwallis at Augusta, where Col. Brown commanded. The approaches were conducted with judgment and rapidity; but no advantage could be gained over the brave and vigilant Brown. In the course of the siege, several batteries were erected which overlooked the fort. From these the American riflemen shot into the inside of the works with success.—The garrison buried themselves in a great measure under ground; and obstinately refused to surrender, till every man who attempted to fire upon the besiegers was instantly shot down. On the 5th of June, the fort with about 300 men surrendered by capitulation. The Americans had about 40 killed and wounded during the siege. Lieut. Col. Grierison, who was greatly obnoxious to them, was after the surrender put to death by some unseen marksman. A reward of a hundred guineas was offered for the perpetrator of this perfidious deed, who notwithstanding remained undiscovered. Brown would probably have shared a similar fate, had not his conquerors furnished him with an escort to the royal garrison in Savannah; for on his way he had to pass thro' the inhabitants whose houses he had burned, whose relations he had hanged, and some of whose fellow citizens he had delivered to the Indians, from whose hands they suffered all the tortures, which savageness has contrived to give poignancy to the pains of death.

General Greene, the mean while, had proceeded with the main army to Ninety Six, which was of more consequence than the other posts, and was defended by a considerable force under the command of Lieut. Col. Cruger. Greene arrived before the town on the 22d of May, and two days after opened his first batteries. The approaches were carried on with unremitting assiduity, day and night. Greene's regular force was somewhat superior to that of the garrison.\* The militia in that district abated their habitual ardor

\* Mr. M'Kenzie in his strictures on Tarleton's history says, the American army amounted to upward of four thousand men----- p. 146. The American deputy adjutant general, Col. O. Williams, stated them thus in his return, present fit for duty, rank and file, Maryland brigade 427, Virginia ditto 431, North Carolina battalion 66, Delaware ditto 60, in all 984; and made no mention of militia. Mr.

ardor for destroying each other, and waited the event of the siege. The Americans not finding the aid they expected from them ; but on the contrary being obliged to send large convoys with the waggon, that went only a few miles from camp for provisions or forage, the business became extremely irksome, and the event dubious : however the siege was prosecuted with indefatigable industry. The garrison defended themselves with spirit and address ; and frequent rencounters happened with various success. Riflemen were employed on both sides, who immediately levelled at every person that appeared in sight, and seldom missed their object. The additional force of Lee's legion after the surrender of fort Cornwallis, was highly seasonable ; as most of the American militia had withdrawn, either to carry home their plunder, or to secure their families from the ravages of the royalists, who began to get rid of their apprehensions, on a report that a large reinforcement from Europe had arrived at Charlestown, and that Lord Rawdon was marching to the relief of Ninety Six.

On the 3d of June, a fleet arrived from Ireland, having on board the 3d, 19th, and 30th British regiments, a detachment from the guards, and a considerable body of recruits, the whole commanded by Lieut. Col. Gould. This was a seasonable arrival ; for the royal army had lost a number of brave officers and soldiers, through the sudden and unexpected attack of the Americans upon their detached posts in different parts of the country. On the 7th, Rawdon marched from Charlestown with a number of these newly arrived troops, in order to relieve the garrison at Ninety Six. Great were the difficulties they had to encounter, in rapidly marching under the rage of a burning sun through the whole extent of South Carolina ; but much greater was their astonishment, when they were told, that their services in the field were necessary to oppose the yet unsubdued rebels in the province. They had been amused with hopes, that nothing remained for them to do, but to sit down as settlers on the forfeited lands of a conquered country. General Greene's army had advanced their approaches very near that critical point, after which further resistance would have been temerity. At this interesting moment, intelligence was received, that Lord Rawdon was nigh at hand, with a reinforcement of at least 1700 foot, and

Mr. McKenzie states the garrison at about 150 men of Delancey's battalion, 200 Jersey volunteers, and about 200 loyal militia, in all 550, if full, and no more than about the number specified. But if a mistake in the account of the garrison, any wise similar to that of the American army, has been committed, the disproportion between both must be much greater, than that of 550 and 984.



150 horse. An American lady, lately married to an officer in the garrison, had been prevailed upon by a large sum of money to convey a letter to Cruger, with the news of their approach. Attempts had been made to retard their march, but without the desired effect. Their vicinity made it necessary either to raise the siege, or make a bold attempt for the reduction of the place. The American army was eager for this effort, in which every one knew and despised the danger. But Greene considered the consequences of a repulse, and instead of a general assault, ordered [June 18.] the batteries to be well manned and a furious cannonade to commence, while the troops lined the trenches and parallel lines with all the appearances of a meditated coup-de-main. One of the redoubts was quickly abandoned, and Lee's light infantry took possession of it. Immediately afterward, a select party from the Maryland brigade under Lieut. Duval, and another from the Virginia brigade under Lieut. Selden, followed by a number of pioneers provided with intrenching tools and grapples, entered the ditch of the strongest work called the Star fort, and endeavored to pull down the sand bags and to make a lodgment. The astonishment of the enemy at first made their opposition feeble; but the strength of their works requiring much time to reduce them, some of their troops who had abandoned the post were brought back to its defence, and parties were thrown into the ditch to charge the Americans on each flank, who were repulsed with loss, and then succeeded by others that suffered also, while those within fought entirely under cover. The American parties in the ditch were enfiladed and galled exceedingly by the fire from the flank angles of their fort. The enterprise however was not soon relinquished. Exposed as they were, with their noses almost touching the muzzles of the enemy's musketry, flanked on both sides, and fighting foot to foot, they bravely maintained possession of the ditch, and vigorously urged the daring design, till they were ordered to retire. The conflict continued near an hour, when Greene observing that every thing had been attempted which could promise success, directed the surviving assailants to be called off. About one third fell in the ditch, and near as many were brought off wounded. Duval and Selden were both wounded. During the attack, the 1st Maryland regiment, commanded by Capt. Benson (which was to sustain the advanced parties in case they penetrated the fort) manned the advanced parallel line, and both lines, of approach, which were within a few feet of the enemy's works. The officers could not be at once neighbours and strangers to danger. They frequently observed the situation of affairs, and sometimes ordered their soldiers to rise up and fire over the heads of their

their companions, to prevent the enemy from looking and firing over their sand bags. Capt. Armstrong received a ball through the head, and Capt. Benson a very dangerous wound through the left shoulder and neck. Rawdon's near approach obliged Greene to raise the siege on the evening of the 19th, after having lost, since the 22d of May, about 150 men in killed, wounded and missing.

It was a mortifying circumstance to the Americans, to be obliged to abandon the siege, when in the grasp of victory—to be compelled, when nearly masters of the whole country, to retreat to its extremity. On this sudden turn of affairs, Greene was advised by some persons to leave the state, and retire with his remaining force to Virginia. To such suggestions he nobly answered—"I will recover the country, or die in the attempt." On the 20th of June, the American army crossed the Saluda and retired toward Broad river. They reached the Enoree on the 24th.—Thus far Lord Rawdon pursued them; when finding it impossible to overtake them, he faced about and returned. He consoled himself with the apprehension that they were gone to North Carolina or Virginia. But they halted and refreshed themselves near the Cross roads, till Greene was informed that his lordship with about half his army was marching to the Congaree. Upon this the American invalids and heavy baggage filed off toward Camden, and all the effective infantry marched by way of Wyncborough to meet his lordship at fort Granby. The cavalry was previously detached to watch his motions; and did it so effectually, that a part of them charged and took a captain, a lieutenant, a cornet, and 45 privates of the British dragoons, with all the horses and accoutrements, one mile from their encampment. The day following, the 4th of July, his lordship marched from the Congaree to Orangeburgh, where he was joined by the 3d regiment under Lieut. Col. Stewart, with a convoy of provisions. Greene, after collecting the militia under Sumpter and Marion, and attaching them to the continentals, offered him battle on the 12th. His lordship, secure in his strong position, would not venture out, and Greene was too weak to attack him with any prospect of success. Advice being received that Cruger had evacuated Ninety Six, and was marching with his troops to join Rawdon, Greene ordered the Americans to retire about seven miles that evening. The next day the cavalry of the legion, the state troops and militia were detached to make a diversion toward Charlestown, and the rest of the army was ordered to the High-Hills of Santee. The same day Rawdon and Cruger formed a junction. A few days after, his lordship left Orangeburgh with a considerable



able detachment and a great number of waggons, and marched to Charlestown. His lordship intends returning to Great Britain. His ill state of health will fully justify his using that leave of absence which has been granted; while the nature of the service in the Carolinas can be no inducement for him to remain.

The evacuation of Camden having been partly effected by striking at the posts below, Greene was for trying how far the like measures might induce the British to leave Orangeburgh. The detachment was sent off to Monk's Corner and Dorchester, and moved down by different roads; in three days they commenced their operations. Lee took all the waggons and waggon horses belonging to a convoy of provisions. Lieut. Col. Wade Hampton, with the state cavalry, charged a party of British dragoons within five miles of Charlestown. He also took 50 prisoners at Strawberry ferry, and burned four vessels loaded with valuable stores for the British army. Sumpter appeared before the garrison at Biggin's church, consisting of 500 infantry and upward of 100 cavalry. Lieut. Col. Coates who commanded there, after repulsing Sumpter's advanced party, on the next evening destroyed his stores and retreated toward Charlestown. He was closely pursued by Lee's legion and Hampton's state cavalry. The legion came up with them, and took their rear guard and all their baggage. Sumpter and Marion came up with the main body after some hours; but by this time the British had secured themselves by taking an advantageous post in a range of houses. An attack was however made, and continued with spirit till upward of 40 were killed or wounded by the fire from the houses. The British lost in these different engagements 140 prisoners, beside several killed and wounded, all the baggage of the 19th regiment, and above 100 horses and several waggons.

General Greene with the main army reached the High Hills of Santee on the 16th of July, and there reposed them till the 22d of August. In a letter from thence of the 8th of August, to a friend at Philadelphia, he thus expressed himself—"Gen. Gates left this country under a heavy load; and I can assure you he did not deserve it. If he was to be blamed for any thing at all, it was for fighting, not for what he did, or did not do in or after the action. I have been upon the ground where he was defeated, and think it was well chosen, and the troops properly drawn up; and had he halted after the defeat at Charlotte, without doing the least thing, I am persuaded there would have been as little murmuring upon that occasion, as in any instance whatever, where the public meet with a misfortune of equal magnitude. I think the order of Congress for an inquiry was premature, and am confident

dent he will acquit himself with honor, whenever he is brought to trial. But if I could have my wish, he should be acquitted without an inquiry, unless he chose it himself."

That you may form a clearer conception of the miseries attending the war in South Carolina, you are presented with a few extracts from General Greene's letters. While before Ninety Six he wrote to Col. Davies, the 23d of May—"The animosity between the whigs and tories of this state renders their situation truly deplorable. There is not a day passes, but there are more or less who fall a sacrifice to this savage disposition. The whigs seem determined to extirpate the tories, and the tories the whigs. Some thousands have fallen in this way in this quarter, and the evil rages with more violence than ever. If a stop cannot be soon put to these massacres, the country will be depopulated in a few months more, as neither whig nor tory can live." Thus without charging, he rebuked Davies for a crime of which he was woefully guilty, and advised him to a better conduct. Weighty reasons, though not a similar one, induced Greene to write to Pickens, on the 5th of June—"The inhabitants near Parker's Ford, on the Saluda, are in great distress from the savage conduct of a party of men belonging to Col. Hammond's regiment. This party plunders without mercy, and murders the defenceless people, just as private pique, prejudice or personal resentments dictate.—Principles of humanity as well as policy require, that proper measures should be immediately taken to restrain these abuses, heal differences, and unite the people as much as possible. No violence should be offered to any of the inhabitants, unless found in arms. The idea of exterminating the tories is no less barbarous than impolitic. I hope you will exert yourself to bring over the tories to our interest, and check the growing enormities which prevail among the whigs, in plundering as private avarice or a bloody disposition stimulates them." July the 30th, the general thus expressed himself to the same person—"I am exceedingly distressed, that the practice of plundering still continues to rage. If a check is not put to this fatal practice, the inhabitants will think their miseries rather increased than lessened." While Greene remained on the High Hills of Santee, he received from the President of Congress, Mr. M'Kean, the following extracts from letters of Lord Geo. Germaine.—To the commissioners for restoring peace. "March the 7th. Your declaration of the 29th of December, will, I trust, be productive of good effects. The narrow limits to which you have reduced your exceptions, and the generality of the assurance you have given of restoration of the former constitutions, were, I doubt not, well considered, and judg-

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ed necessary and expedient: but as there are many things in the constitutions of some of the colonies, and some things in all, which the people have always wished to be altered, and others which the common advantages of both countries require to be changed, it is necessary to be attentive, that neither your acts nor declarations preclude any disquisition of such subjects or prevent such alterations being made in their constitution as the people may solicit or consent to." [Thus it appears that the ministry meant that the commissioners should be so guarded in their acts and declarations, as that the American constitutions might not obtain from the same, stability and permanency.]—To Sir Henry Clinton. "February the 7th. It gave his majesty satisfaction to find you had determined to replace General Leslie's detachment in Elizabeth river, by one under General Arnold, with positive orders to establish a permanent post there."—To Sir H. Clinton. "March the 7th. It is a pleasing, though at the same time a mortifying reflection, which arises from the view of the return of the provincial forces you have transmitted, that the American levies in the king's service are more in number, than the whole of the enlisted troops in the service of the Congress. I hope in the course of the summer, the admiral and you will be able to spare a force sufficient to effect an establishment at Casco Bay, and reduce that country to the king's obedience. As the exchanges (as it appears from Mr. Washington's last letter to you) will not be carried on further, the measure of enlisting your prisoners for service in the West Indies should be adopted immediately, and indeed such has been the mortality of the troops there from sickness, that I do not see any other means of recruiting them.—The prevalence of westerly winds these last two months has prevented the Warwick and Solebay, with their convoy, from getting further than Plymouth, where they are all detained." The President wrote in his letter of July the 17th, which accompanied the above extracts. "It further appears from these letters, that Arnold has received bills of exchange for five thousand pounds sterling on London, which have been paid, and the money invested in the stocks.—This was probably the certain reward, the rest may have been eventual. Congress are possessed of the originals." The following of May the 22d, is thought also to have been sent to Greene by a member of Congress—"Congress this day received a most affectionate and friendly letter from the king of France. He gives us every assurance of the most substantial aid, as far as his abilities and the exigencies of his affairs in Europe will admit.—He speaks in the most tender and feeling manner on the distressing

sing situation of our affairs; and says, he will risk embarrassing his own affairs in order to afford us some relief."

After Lord Rawdon's return to Charlestown an affair took place, which has roused the indignation of the Americans, and may receive a fairer discussion in some future period, when impartiality shall be more prevalent than at present. The whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so far as it has come to my knowledge shall be now laid before you. During the siege of Charlestown, Col. Hayne served his country in a corps of militia horse. After the capitulation, no alternative was left but either to abandon his family and property, or to surrender to the conquerors. He concluded that instead of waiting to be captured, it would be both more safe and more honorable to go within the British lines, and surrender himself a voluntary prisoner. He therefore repaired to Charlestown, and offered to bind himself by the honor of an American officer, to do nothing prejudicial to the British interest till he should be exchanged. Reports made of his superior abilities and influence, uniformly exerted in the American cause, operated with the conquerors to refuse him a parole, though they were daily accustomed to grant that indulgence to other inhabitants. He was told that he must either become a British subject, or submit to close confinement. To be arrested and detained in the capital, was not to himself an intolerable evil; but to abandon his family both to the ravages of the small-pox, then raging in their neighbourhood, and to the insults and depredations of the royalists, was too much for the tender husband and fond parent. To acknowledge himself the subject of a government which he had from principle renounced, was repugnant to his feelings; but without this he was cut off from every prospect of a return to his family. In this embarrassing situation he waited on Doctor Ramsay with a declaration to the following effect—"If the British would grant me the indulgence, which we, in the day of our power, gave to their adherents, of removing my family and property, I would seek an asylum in the remotest corner of the United States, rather than submit to their government; but as they allow no other alternative than submission or confinement in the capital, at a distance from my wife and family, at a time when they are in the most pressing need of my presence and support, I must for the present yield to the demands of the conquerors. I request you to bear in mind, that, previous to my taking this step, I declare that it is contrary to my inclination, and forced on me by hard necessity, I never will bear arms against my country. My new masters can require no service of me, but what is enjoined by the old militia law of the province, which substitutes a fine in lieu



of personal service. That I will pay as the price of my protection. If my conduct should be censured by my countrymen, I beg that you would remember this conversation, and bear witness for me, that I do not mean to desert the cause of America."

In this state of perplexity, Col. Hayne subscribed a declaration of his allegiance to the king of Great Britain; but not without expressly objecting to the clause which required him with *his arms to support the royal government*. The commandant of the garrison, Brigadier General Patterson, and James Simpson, Esq; intendant of the British police, assured him that this would never be required; and added further, that when the regular forces could not defend the country without the aid of its inhabitants, it would be high time for the royal army to quit it. Having submitted to the royal government, he was permitted to return to his family. Notwithstanding what had passed at the time of his submission, he was repeatedly called upon to take arms against his countrymen, and finally threatened with close confinement in case of a further refusal. This he considered as a breach of contract; and it being no longer in the power of the British to give him that protection, which was to be the compensation of his allegiance; he viewed himself as released from all engagements to their commanders. The inhabitants of his neighbourhood, who had also revolted, petitioned General Pickens to appoint him to the command of their regiment, which was done, and the appointment accepted.

Colonel Hayne having thus resumed his arms, sent out in July a small party to reconnoitre; which penetrated within seven miles of Charlestown, took General Williamson prisoner, and retreated to the head quarters of the regiment. This was the same Williamson, who was an active officer in the South Carolina militia from the commencement of the war to the surrender of Charlestown; soon after which event he became a British subject. Such was the anxiety of the British commandant to rescue Williamson, that he ordered out his whole cavalry on the business. Hayne fell into their hands. He was carried to the capital, and confined in the provost's prison, for having resumed his arms after accepting British protection. At first he was promised a trial, and had council prepared to justify his conduct by the laws of nations and usages of war: but this was finally refused, and he was ordered for execution by Lord Rawdon and Lieutenant Col. Balfour. The royal lieutenant governor, Bull, and a great number of inhabitants, both royalists and Americans, interceded for his life. The ladies of Charlestown generally signed a petition in his behalf, in which was introduced every delicate sentiment that was likely to

operate

operate on the gallantry of officers, or the humanity of men. His children, accompanied by some near relations (the mother had died of the small pox) were presented on their bended knees, as humble suitors for their father's life. Such powerful intercessions were made in his favor as touched many an unfeeling heart, and drew tears from many an hard eye; but Lord Rawdon and Balfour continued firm to their determination.

The colonel was repeatedly visited by his friends, and conversed on various subjects with a becoming fortitude. He particularly lamented that, on principles of retaliation, his execution would probably be an introduction to the shedding of much innocent blood. He requested those in whom the supreme power was vested, to accommodate the mode of his death to his feelings as an officer: but this was refused. On the last evening of his life, he told a friend, that he was no more alarmed at the thoughts of death, than at any other occurrence which was necessary and unavoidable.

On receiving his summons in the morning of August the 4th, to proceed to the place of execution, he delivered to his eldest son, a youth of about 13 years of age, several papers relative to his case, and said—"Present these papers to Mrs. Edwards, with my request that she would forward them to her brother in Congress. You will next repair to the place of execution; receive my body, and see it decently interred among my forefathers." They took a final leave. The colonel's arms were pinioned, and a guard placed round his person. The procession began from the Exchange in the forenoon. The streets were crowded with thousands of anxious spectators. He walked to the place of execution with such decent firmness, composure and dignity, as to awaken the compassion of many, and command respect from all. When the city barrier was past, and the instrument of his catastrophe appeared in full view, a faithful friend by his side observed to him, that he hoped he would exhibit an example of the manner in which an American can die. He answered with the utmost tranquillity—"I will endeavour to do so." He ascended the cart with a firm step and serene aspect. He inquired of the executioner, who was making an attempt to get up to pull the cap over his eyes, what he wanted. On being informed, the colonel replied—"I will save you the trouble," and pulled the cap over himself. He was afterward asked, whether he wished to say any thing, to which he answered—"I will only take leave of my friends, and be ready." He then affectionately shook hands with three gentlemen, recommending his children to their care, and gave the signal for the cart to move.

Thus



Thus fell Col. Isaac Hayne in the bloom of life, furnishing that example in death, which extorted a confession from his enemies, that though he did not die in a good cause, he must at least have acted from a persuasion of its being so.\* The world will judge whether his death was strictly according to law; and if so, whether the legality was not of that kind to which the maxim is to be applied—*summum jus summa injuria*.

The operations in Virginia shall be now related.

The junction of General Phillips's force to General Arnold's at Portsmouth, greatly increased their power of distressing the State, which they failed not to improve as far as possible. In April, the troops to the amount of about 2500, embarked and proceeded to James river. By the 24th they ran up to City Point, below Petersburg, where Baron de Steuben was with a number of militia. Their whole force landed at six in the evening; and the next day marched at ten in the morning. The Baron was fully convinced that Petersburg was their first object. Having been obliged to send away large detachments, he had not more than 1000 men to oppose their advance. He had many reasons against risking a total defeat, the loss of arms was a principal one: on the other hand, to retire without some show of resistance, would intimidate the inhabitants, and encourage the British to further incursions. He therefore determined to do what he could without hazarding too much. He made choice of Blandford (about a mile distant) for the place of defence, and a neighbouring bridge for a retreat. The Americans passed the night under arms. Toward noon of the 25th, the British came in sight, formed and extended their line to their left. It was near three o'clock before the firing commenced, which continued from post to post till past five, when the superiority of the enemy, and want of amunition, obliged the Baron to order a retreat, and the bridge to be taken up; which were executed with great regularity notwithstanding the fire of the British cannon and musketry. The Americans disputed the ground inch by inch, and executed their manœuvres with much exactness. The Baron retired to Chesterfield court-house, ten miles from Petersburg. The next day the British destroyed at Petersburg 400 hogheads of tobacco, a ship, and a number of small vessels. On the 27th Arnold marched to Osborn's, four miles above which place the Virginians had a considerable marine force, with which they meant to oppose him. Arnold sent a flag to treat with the commander, who declared that he would defend his fleet to the last. Arnold advanced with some artillery, and at length overpowered him. The seamen took to their boats and escaped, but not before they had

had scuttled and set fire to several of their ships. The militia were driven from the opposite shore. Two ships and ten smaller vessels, loaded with tobacco, cordage, flour and other articles, fell into Arnold's hands. Four ships, five brigantines, and a number of small vessels, were either burnt or sunk. The whole quantity of tobacco taken or destroyed in this fleet exceeded 2000 hogheads. The British by the 30th reached Manchester, where they destroyed 1200 hogheads of tobacco: the Marquis de la Fayette, with his troops, who arrived at Richmond, on the opposite side, the preceding evening, being spectators of the conflagration. The royal army on their return made great havoc at Warwick. Beside the ships on the stocks and in the river, a large range of rope walks, a magazine of flour, a number of warehouses, containing tobacco and other commodities, tan-houses full of hides and bark, and several fine mills, were destroyed or consumed in one general conflagration. The army then returned to the shipping, and the whole fell down toward the mouth of the river. While this force was sufficient for destroying every species of property to an almost incredible amount, and for accumulating a great deal of spoil for the parties commanding it, the main purpose was not answered: it was incapable of bringing matters to any decisive conclusion. Here, and in the Carolinas, the veteran battalions were worn down and consumed, without producing any permanent advantage.

The Marquis de la Fayette has been mentioned as present in Virginia. When he had marched back to the head of Elk, he received an order from Gen. Washington to go on to Virginia, that he might oppose Gen. Phillips. His troops were in want of almost every thing, however they proceeded to, and arrived at Baltimore on the 17th of April. Here he was under the greatest embarrassment for want of shoes; there not being a pair in his whole command. But the love and confidence he had excited, enabled him to borrow of the merchants two thousand guineas upon his own credit; with which he procured such necessaries as were wanting for the forwarding of his detachment. The Marquis, being jealous that Richmond was Phillips's object, made a forced march of 200 miles, and arrived at that place the evening before the latter reached Manchester. During the night, which was spent in making dispositions of defence, the Marquis was joined by some militia under Baron Steuben. His presence with such a body of troops secured Richmond from the hostile attack of the British, and saved the military stores with which it was then filled. The Marquis, with a very inferior force, kept on the north side of James river; and acted so entirely on the defensive,

and



and at the same time made so judicious a choice of posts, and showed such vigor and design in his movements, as prevented any advantage being taken of his weakness. Upon the falling down of the British forces to the mouth of the river, with a view of collecting contributions at Williamsburgh and in the neighbourhood, the marquis discovered no small activity in counteracting them. On their sudden return up James river, he conceived their object to be the forming a junction with Lord Cornwallis, of whose marching through North Carolina he had received some faint intelligence. He therefore made a rapid movement, that he might get before them to Petersburg; but was foiled in his design, through the vigilance of the British commanders. The last act of Gen. Phillips was the taking possession of this place late in the night of May the 9th: on the 13th he died.

Lord Cornwallis after the action with Greene near Guilford court-house, crossing Deep river, marched for Wilmington, and arrived in the neighbourhood on the 7th of April. He concluded upon marching to Virginia, and endeavouring a junction with Phillips. The troops were now to encounter a new march of 300 miles; while so destitute of necessaries, that the cavalry might be said to want every thing, and the infantry every thing but shoes. Neither were in any suitable condition to move, even the day before marching. His lordship provided for every possible contingency as far as in his power; and then began his march on the 25th of April. He arrived at Petersburg on the 20th of May. Here he received the unwelcome news of Phillips's death; but had the consolation of meeting with a fresh reinforcement of about 1800 men, whom Sir Henry Clinton had sent to support the war with vigor. Lord Cornwallis, on taking the command, felt himself so superior to the American force, that he exulted in the prospect of success; and despising the youth of his opponent, unguardedly wrote to Great Britain—"the boy cannot escape me."—The marquis's little army consisted of 1000 continentals, 2000 militia, and 60 dragoons. Cornwallis proceeded from Petersburg to James river, which he crossed in order to dislodge Fayette from Richmond: it was evacuated on the 27th. His lordship then marched through Hanover county, and crossed the South Anna river, Fayette constantly following his motions, but at a guarded distance in every part of his progress. His lordship at one time planned the surprisal of the marquis, while on the same side of James river with himself; but was diverted from his intention by a spy, whom Fayette had sent into his camp. The marquis was very desirous of obtaining full intelligence concerning his lordship; and concluded upon prevailing, if possible, upon

one Charles (generally called Charly) Morgan, a Jersey soldier, of whom he had entertained a favorable opinion, to turn deserter, and go over to the British army, in order to his executing the business of a spy more effectually. Charly was sent for, and agreed to undertake the hazardous employ; but insisted, that in case he should be discovered and hanged, the marquis, to secure his reputation, should have it inserted in the Jersey paper, that he was sent upon the service by his commander. Charly deserted, and when he had reached the royal army, was carried before his lordship; who inquired into the reason of his deserting, and received for answer—"I have been, my lord, with the American army from the beginning, and while under Gen. Washington was satisfied; but being put under a Frenchman, I do not like it, and have left the service." His lordship commended and rewarded his conduct. Charly was very diligent in the discharge of his military duty, and was not in the least suspected; but at the same time carefully observed all that passed. One day while on particular duty with his comrades, Cornwallis, in close conversation with some officers, called Charly to him, and said—"How long time will it take the marquis to cross James river? Charly paused a moment, and answered—"Three hours, my lord." His lordship exclaimed—"Three hours! why it will take three days." "No, my lord," said Charly, "the marquis has so many boats, and each boat will carry so many men. If your lordship will be at the trouble of calculating, you will find he can cross in three hours." His lordship turned to the officers; and in the hearing of Charly remarked—"The scheme will not do." Charly concluded this was the moment for his returning to the marquis. He, as soon as possible, plied his comrades with grog,\* till they were well warmed, and then opened his masked battery. He complained of the wants that prevailed in the British camp, commended the supplies with which the American abounded, expressed his inclination to return, and then asked—"What say you, will you go with me?" They agreed. It was left with him to manage as to the sentries. To the first he offered, in a very friendly manner, the taking a draught of rum out of his canteen. While the fellow was drinking,

\* A mixture of rum and water, which gained its name in the following way. When Admiral Vernon commanded in the West Indies, to preserve the health and lives of the sailors, he ordered their allowance of rum to be mixed with a proper quantity of water, and the liquor to be put upon deck for their use. The sailors resented the alteration; but the resolution of the admiral obliged them to drink the mixture or go without. It so happened that he generally wore on board an old grogram coat: the sailors took occasion from thence to fill the mixture that was imposed upon them---Grog.



ing, Charly secured his arms; and then proposed his deserting with them; to which he consented through necessity. The second was served in like manner. Charly Morgan, by his management, carried off seven deserters with him. When he had reached the American army, and was brought to head quarters, the marquis, upon seeing him, cried out, "Ha! Charly, are you got back?" "Yes, and please your excellency, and have brought seven more with me," was the answer. When Charly had related the reason of his returning, and the observations he had made, the marquis offered him money; but he declined accepting it, and only desired to have his gun again. The marquis then proposed to promote him to the rank of a corporal or sergeant. To this Morgan replied—"I will not have any promotion. I have abilities for a common soldier, and have a good character; should I be promoted my abilities may not answer, and I may lose my character." He however nobly requested for his fellow soldiers, who were not so well supplied with shoes, stockings and clothing as himself, that the marquis would promise to do what he could to relieve their distresses; which he easily obtained.

Lord Cornwallis, meeting with a plentiful supply of fine horses in the stables of private gentlemen, mounted a considerable body of troops. Cols. Tarleton and Simcoe were dispatched from the South Anna with separate detachments to scour the interior country. They penetrated into the recesses, which had been hitherto free from spoilers, and might have done considerable more mischief to the inhabitants. They destroyed a number of arms under repair, some cannon, a quantity of gunpowder, salt, harness and other matters, designed for or capable of being applied to military services. Had their destructive operations of this nature been ever so considerable, instead of trifling, they must have escaped all censure; and the Americans would have had no just ground of complaint; but it was otherwise in various instances. Baron Steuben, who was at the Point of Fork with 500 regulars of the Virginia new levies and a few militia, retired upon the approach of Simcoe. He had been separated from the marquis, in consequence of an order from Greene for the baron to come and join him. The baron had proceeded to the borders of North Carolina. This left the marquis so weak, that he was obliged to fall back as Cornwallis advanced, till he should be reinforced. His lordship's march to Virginia made the revocation of Greene's order necessary. Tarleton penetrated, by a forced march, as far as Charlotte-ville; and had nearly surprised and taken the whole assembly of Virginia prisoners. They had removed from Richmond to Charlotte-ville to be out of the way of Cornwallis;

Cornwallis; and received information of Tarleton's approach but just time enough to escape his legion. They now crossed the mountains, and convened at Stanton. The British convention prisoners had been early marched from Charlotte-ville toward Pennsylvania.

Lord Cornwallis not having any immediate occasion for Gen. Arnold, dispensed with his absence, so that he returned to New York about the beginning of June. His lordship finding it impossible to force the Marquis de la Fayette to an action, endeavoured to prevent his junction with Wayne; who had been ordered by Gen. Washington to march from the northward with the Pennsylvania line, amounting to 800, with a view to that event. It was effected without loss at Racoon ford on the 7th of June. But while this junction was making, his lordship obtained an opening for placing himself between the marquis and his stores. The stores, which were an object with both armies, had been removed from Richmond to Albemarle old court-house above the Point of Fork. His lordship was so far advanced, as that within the course of two days he must have gained possession of them. At the same moment he found that the marquis, by an unexpected and rapid march, was within a few miles of his army. This at first might be matter of joy to him; as he saw no practicable way for the marquis to get between him and the stores, but by a road, in passing which the Americans might be attacked to great advantage. However, contrary to his lordship's expectation, the marquis discovered a nearer road to Albemarle. It had been long disused, and therefore was much embarrassed. Fayette had it opened in the night; and to the astonishment of Cornwallis, fixed himself the next day in a strong position between the British army and the American stores.

His lordship now commenced a retrograde movement; and in two nights marches measured back upward of 50 miles. He was accompanied with his detachments under Tarleton and Simcoe. By about the 17th of June he entered Richmond; the marquis pressing hard after him. On the 18th the British moved toward the Americans, seemingly with the design of striking a detached corps. But upon the marching of the light infantry and Pennsylvanians, they returned into the town. The next day the marquis was joined by Steuben's troops: and on the night of the 20th, Richmond was evacuated. His lordship, under an apprehension that the marquis was much stronger than was really the case, hastened to Williamsburgh; where he occupied a strong post, was under the protection of his shipping, and received a reinforcement from Portsmouth. On the 26th of June, the day after the  
main



main body of the British army arrived at Williamsburgh, their rear was attacked within six miles of the place, by an American light corps under Colonel Butler; and had 33 killed and wounded. According to a private letter of Fayette to the President of Congress, his own troops at this period consisted only of 1500 regulars, 400 new levies, and about 2000 militia, in all 3900; while Cornwallis's amounted to 4000 regulars, 800 of whom were mounted.

In the course of these movements, beside articles similar to those already specified, the British destroyed above 2000 hog-heads of tobacco, with some brass and a number of iron ordnance. But they were joined by no great number of inhabitants, and scarcely by any of the native Virginians. Lord Cornwallis, in his marches from Charlestown to Camden, from Camden to the Dan river, from the Dan through North Carolina to Wilmington, from Wilmington to Richmond, and from Richmond to Williamsburgh, made a route of more than eleven hundred miles, without computing deviations.

The Marquis de la Fayette kept with his body about 18 or 20 miles distant from Lord Cornwallis, while his advanced corps was within 10 or 12, with an intention of insulating the British rear guard, when they should pass James river. His lordship evacuated Williamsburgh on the 4th of July. On the 6th at noon he received intelligence that the Americans were approaching. Persuaded they would not venture an attack, except under the impression, that only a rear guard was left on that side of the river, he used all proper means to encourage that opinion of his weakness. General Wayne relying upon the assurances of a countryman, that the main body had crossed, pushed forward with 800 men, chiefly Pennsylvanians and some light infantry, and to his surprise discovered the British army drawn up ready to receive him about sun-set. He instantly conceived that the only mode of extricating himself from his perilous situation, was by boldly attacking and engaging them for a while, and then retreating with the utmost expedition. He pressed on with the greatest intrepidity. His whole force, with which he began to engage the British, at no greater distance than twenty-five yards, did not exceed five hundred men, all Pennsylvanians.\* After behaving with heroic bravery for a time, they faced about, and leaving their cannon behind, hurried off the field in haste toward some light infantry battalions, that by a most rapid move had arrived within about half a mile of them. Lord Cornwallis would admit of no pursuit,

\* General Wayne's letter to General Greene:

pursuit, for he conjectured, from the strangeness of circumstances, that the whole was a scheme of Fayette to draw him into an ambuscade. The British passed the river at night, and retired to Portsmouth; and the marquis chose that moment for resting the American troops.

However we shall not quit Virginia without mentioning that early in the spring, a British frigate went up the Patomak, and landed a party of men, who set fire to and destroyed some gentlemen's houses on the Maryland side of the river, in sight of Mount Vernon, General Washington's seat. The captain sent to Mr. Lund Washington, (who supplied the place of a steward) and demanded a quantity of provisions, with which he was furnished, to prevent worse consequences. This compliance did not meet with the general's approbation; and in a letter of April the 30th, he expressed to Mr. Lund Washington his uneasiness at his having gone on board the frigate, and furnished provisions; and said, "that he would rather it had been left to the enemy to take what they would by force, though at the risk of burning his house and property."

We now proceed to the department under Gen. Washington's immediate command.

A publication in the New York paper about the month of April, excited the general to write to a particular friend—"Rivington, or the inspector of his Gazette, published a letter from me to Gov. Hancock and his answer, which never had an existence but in the Gazette. The enemy fabricated a number of letters for me formerly as is well known." The following extracts from his genuine letters will give you the best account of the particulars to which the same relate. "May the 1st. I had strained myself by military force to that length, I trembled for the consequences of the execution of every warrant which I had granted for the purpose; so much are the people irritated by the frequent calls which have been made upon them in that way."—"The 8th. Distressed beyond expression at the present situation and future prospect of the army with regard to provision, unless an immediate and regular supply can be obtained, I have determined to make one great effort more, by representations and requisitions to the New England states."—"The 10th. From the posts of Saratoga to that of Dobbs's ferry inclusive, I believe there is not (by the reports and returns I have received) at this moment on hand, one day's supply of meat for the army."—"The 11th. I am sending Gen. Heath purposely to the eastern states to represent our distresses, and fix a plan for our regular supply for the future." Three days before, the general wrote to Gov.

Livingston—



Livingston—"Intelligence has been sent me by a gentleman, who has an opportunity of knowing what passes among the enemy, that four parties had been sent out with orders to take or assassinate your excellency, Gov. Clinton, me, and a fourth person name unknown." The general at the same time, did not believe that the enemy had any design of assassinating, though declared by one who said he was engaged. The representation made to the Massachusetts general court of the army distresses, put them upon those exertions that were beneficial though insufficient. On the 14th of May, Washington was pained with an account, that Col. Greene, who lay near Croton river with a detachment of the army, had been surprised in the morning, about sun rise, by a party of Delancey's corps, consisting of 100 cavalry, and about 200 infantry. They came first to the colonel and Major Flagg's quarters. The major was killed in bed, and the colonel badly wounded. They attempted carrying him off, but finding that he could not march fast enough, they murdered him. His death is much regretted. His bravery was seen and felt in the defence of Red bank against Count Donop.

Monsieur de Barras, appointed to the command of the French squadron at Newport, arrived at Boston in the Concord frigate on the 6th of May. He brought with him dispatches for the Count de Rochambeau; which being notified to Washington, he with Generals Knox and du Portail set off for Weathersfield, three miles from Hartford, where they met the Count de Rochambeau and the Chevalier Chastellux on the 21st. At this interview, after combining all present circumstances and future prospects, the plan proposed the last year at Hartford of attacking New York was adopted. The object was considered of greater magnitude and more within their reach than any other. The weakness of the garrison of New York, its central position for drawing together men and supplies, and the spur which an attempt against that place would give to every exertion, were among the reasons which prompted to the undertaking, and promised success, unless the enemy should call a considerable part of their force from the southward. The French troops were to march toward the North river as soon as circumstances would permit, leaving about 200 men at Providence with the heavy stores and baggage, and 500 militia upon Rhode Island to secure the works. On the 24th, letters were addressed to the executive powers of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Jersey, requiring among other things, militia to the amount of 6200. Washington enforced the requisition with "Our allies in this country expect and depend upon being supported by us, in the attempt we are about

about to make; and those in Europe will be astonished should we neglect the favorable opportunity which is now offered." The general returned to his head quarters on the 26th. The next day he forwarded this information to the proper persons—"On the calculations, I have been able to form, in concert with some of the most experienced French and American officers, the operation in view will require, in addition to the French army, all the continental battalions from New Hampshire to New Jersey to be completed." He added afterward—"As we cannot count upon the battalions being full, and as a body of militia will moreover be necessary, I have called upon the several states to hold certain numbers in readiness to move within a week of the time I may require them."

The British adjutant general employed one lieutenant James Moody, in attempting to intercept Washington's dispatches. He succeeded repeatedly, though his escapes were narrow. He was urged to renew the service after the interview between Washington and Rochambeau had taken place; accordingly, way-laying the mail some days in the Jerseys, the opportunity offered for his taking and conveying to New York that very bag which contained the letters that were the object of the enterprise.

Preparations were now making for the American army's taking the field; and on the 21st of June they marched for the camp at Peek's-kill. On the 1st of July, Washington mentioned in a letter—"From the 12th of May to this day, we have received only 312 head of cattle, from New Hampshire 30, Massachusetts 230, and Connecticut 52. Unless more strenuous exertions are made to feed the few troops in the field, we must not only relinquish our intended operation, but shall disband for want of subsistence; or which is almost equally to be lamented, the troops will be obliged to seek it for themselves where it can be found." The next morning about three o'clock, the army marched toward New York with no baggage, but a blanket and clean shirt each man, and four days provision cooked. General Lincoln having taken post with four battalions of infantry, and a small detachment of the guards, at no great distance from Fort Independence, was attacked on the 3d by about 1500 royal troops. The body of the American army, which was at hand, marched to support him. Lincoln designed to draw the enemy to a distance from their strong post at Kingsbridge and its dependencies, and thereby to have given Washington and the Duke de Lauzun, with the French legion, and Sheldon's dragoons, the opportunity of turning their flanks. But it being apparent that Washington determined to fight at all events, the enemy declined sending out reinforcements.



forcements, and soon retired within Kingsbridge. The next day the army marched toward White Plains; and on the 6th of July, the van of the French troops under Rochambeau appeared on the heights about eight o'clock, on the left of the Americans. On the 8th the French encamped near in a line with the Americans, with their left extending toward the Sound. Their whole force consists of more than those who went from Newport; for about the 8th of June, there arrived at Boston, a French 50 gun ship, 3 frigates, and 14 transports, with 1500 men. These marched the 14th of the same month to join their countrymen under Rochambeau. The British having gained the proper intelligence, planned an expedition, which would have been very prejudicial to the Americans had it succeeded. The nature and importance of it may be learned from the general orders of July the 17th. "The commander in chief is exceedingly pleased with Major Gen. Howe, for marching with so much alacrity and rapidity to the defence of the stores at Tarry-town, and repulsing the enemy's shipping from thence. The gallant behaviour and spirited exertions of Col. Sheldron, Capt. Hurlblut of the 2d regiment of dragoons, Capt. Lieut. Miles of the artillery, and Lieut. Shaylor of the 4th Connecticut regiment, previous to the arrival of the troops, in extinguishing the flames of the vessels which had been set on fire by the enemy, and rescuing the *whole* of the *ordnance* and *stores* from destruction, has the applause of the general." On the 21st, the general in a letter to the French admiral thus expressed himself—"I hope there will be no occasion for a movement to the southward, for want of force to act against New York, as I flatter myself the glory of destroying the British squadron at New York is reserved for the king's fleet under your command, and that of the land force at the same place for the allied arms." At eight o'clock in the evening of the same day, the American army (exclusive of 20 men to a regiment) and part of the French, marched from their encampments, and continued it with great rapidity and scarce any halt through the night. At four the next morning, they were drawn up in order of battle, while Washington, Rochambeau, all the general officers and engineers reconnoitred the different positions of the enemy's works from right to left. The next morning was also spent in reconnoitring. At four in the afternoon, the troops prepared to march and return to the camp. They arrived at their old ground by half after twelve.

The states were all this while very dilatory in sending the number of troops required: they were equally culpable as to the quality of those they did send, which occasioned a Massachusetts of,

sicer to write from camp as follows on the 26th—"A private character, who should use fraud to get rid of his engagements, would be considered as a scoundrel; while a collective body do not blush at transactions for which an individual would be kicked out of society. Had the different states *honestly* complied with the requisitions of Congress, we should at this period have had an army in the field equal to any exigence of service. How contrary has been their conduct! Of their recruits which have come in, to say nothing of their deficiency in point of number, few of them will be able, before the expiration of their enlistments, to perform the duties of a soldier. When I have seen boys of a yard and an half long paraded for muster, absolutely incapable of sustaining the weight of a soldier's accoutrements, and have been told that these shadows have been sent as part of the states quota, I have cursed the duplicity of my countrymen, and pronounced them unworthy the blessings of freedom. The army at large considered this conduct of their respective states as a vile imposition; and we began to send back the unqualified recruits; but so proportionably great was their number, that we were obliged to retain many, who, though they are not at present, yet may in a campaign or two be in some degree serviceable. This is no exaggerated picture. It might, by a deeper colouring be made a more striking likeness."

The continental army, by taking a position near New York and its several movements, confirmed Sir Henry Clinton in the belief of that intelligence he had procured by the interception of Washington's letters, and led him to withdraw a considerable part of the troops under the command of Cornwallis, as a reinforcement to his own garrison. This led Washington to observe on the 30th—"From the change of circumstances with which this withdraw will be attended, we shall probably entirely change our plan of operations. I conclude the enemy's capital post will be at Portsmouth." By great exertions and powerful aids from the Massachusetts and Rhode Island, the heavy artillery, stores, &c. were brought to the North river in a manner beyond his expectation; as he himself acknowledged on the 2d of August; but on the same day he complained—"I am not stronger at this advanced period of the campaign, than when the army first moved from winter quarters. Not a single man has joined me, except 176 militia from Connecticut, who arrived at West Point yesterday, and 80 of the York levies, and about 200 state troops of Connecticut, both of which corps were upon the lines previous to leaving winter cantonments." However, in case the attempt against New York must be laid aside, he consoled himself with

this



his thought—"The detachment left in Virginia seems the next object, and will be very practicable should we obtain a naval superiority." It was very distressing to find, that the states either would or could not fill their continental battalions, or afford the aids of militia required from them. At length, a letter from the Count de Grasse, with intelligence that his destination was fixed to the Chesapeak, settled the point by leaving no alternative; on which a joint answer from General Washington and Count de Rochambeau was sent to de Grasse on the 17th of August, to give him notice of their determination to remove the whole of the French army, and as large a detachment of the Americans as could be spared to the Chesapeak, there to meet his excellency. The appearance of an attack upon New York however was still continued, and to induce the firmest persuasion of its being intended, ovens were erected opposite to Staten Island at the mouth of the Raritan for the use of the French forces. While this deception was playing off against Sir Henry Clinton, the allied army crossed the North river on the 24th, and pushed for Philadelphia, where they arrived on the 30th about three o'clock in the afternoon, and were saluted by firing of guns and ringing of bells; and in the evening with bonfires and illuminations. While the allies were marching, the royalists at New York were pleasing themselves with this intelligence published in their Gazette of August 25th.—"A gentleman just arrived from Jersey informs us, that young Laurens lately passed through that province on his return from Paris, and has brought the following very interesting intelligence, that THE EMPEROR OF GERMANY HAD DECLARED HIMSELF THE ALLY OF GREAT BRITAIN, [all in large capitals] which threw the court of Versailles into much confusion, as in consequence of this great event, the French nation must withdraw all support from their new allies, the rebels of this continent; and we are informed it has, with another concurring circumstance, occasioned Mr. Washington and the Count de Rochambeau to quit their *menacing* position at White Plains. We are also told, that the French admiral is embarking all the sick troops on board his squadron, from which it is suggested that their fleet and army are to be withdrawn from Rhode Island, to strengthen themselves in the West Indies. It is said, that the French and rebels left their ground the day after Mr. Washington received the mortifying account of the emperor's alliance with his old friend the court of Great Britain."—The seasonable arrival of Lieut. Col. Laurens at the northward, and his journey through Jersey to Philadelphia, afforded the opportunity of fabricating such information to assist in disguising the movement

movement of the allied army.\* On the 4th of September, Washington wrote to General Greene—"The plan has been totally changed, occasioned by a variety of circumstances, two only need be mentioned, the arrival of more than 2000 Germans at New York, and a certain information that de Grasse would make his first appearance in the Chesapeake; commence his operations in Virginia, and could not continue long on the coasts. I am now advanced to Philadelphia with more than 2000 American infantry, a regiment of artillery, and such apparatus for a siege as we could command."

The subsequent operations of the allied troops must be related the next opportunity: only let me mention how the French behaved, while residing at Newport, and on their march to Philadelphia. During their whole stay at Newport, they did not damage the property of the inhabitants to the amount of a hundred dollars. The towns people could walk about in the evening and at night, with as much safety as if there were no troops in the place. Officers of the first rank and quality conversed with traders, merchants and gentlemen, whenever the language of either was enough understood to admit of it, with the utmost affability. Their easy manners and condescending civility endeared them to the citizens among whom they were quartered; and produced comparisons between them and the bulk of British officers who had been before among them, no wise to the advantage of the latter. When the soldiers were encamped out of Newport, the cows grazing in the adjoining fields were never injured, or so much as milked. They were rather a guard than a nuisance.—The voice of individuals and of the people at large, commended them for their exemplary behaviour. When they marched through the country in their way to the American army, their two columns observed uncommon regularity; and a gentleman in a public character told me, that when they passed through his town, they did not do more damage than if they had been a couple of American corporals guards. The same conduct was practised elsewhere. Every care was taken to put the inhabitants to the least possible inconvenience: these were agreeably surprised at finding that such a number of men in arms could occasion so little disturbance and trouble. They were welcome guests too, as they paid punctually for all they wanted, with hard money. Here let it be remarked, that the abundance of hard money which was brought into the United States, for the support of the French navy and army, furnished a quantity of cash that was extremely useful to the

\* A letter to Mr. Jenkinson, printed for Debrett, 1781.



the Americans, and in a degree checked the rapid growth of their distresses through the expiring state of the paper currency. The union of these several particulars, and the expectation of further benefits in military operations, placed the Americans and French on the most friendly footing, though a few years before they had been in the habit of reviling, hating and fighting with each other.

Accounts of the military and naval operations at Pensacola and in the West Indies having reached the continent, the same shall now be related.

Don Bernardo de Galvez having extended his views to the taking of Pensacola, and thereby completing the conquest of West Florida, went to the Havannah to forward and take upon him the command of the force destined for that service. Soon after the fleet had sailed, it was nearly ruined by a hurricane. Four capital ships, beside others, were lost; and all on board perished, to the amount of more than 2000. The remainder of the fleet put back to the Havannah; the critical arrival of four more ships from Spain, enabled them to refit speedily; and five sail of the line, with smaller vessels, were dispatched to conduct Don Galvez, with between 7 and 8000 land forces, on the expedition.— They arrived before Pensacola on the 9th of March, and were followed in time by Don Solano with the remainder of the fleet, the whole amounting to 15 sail of the line. The entrance of the harbour could not be long defended against so great a power.— The passage was forced; the landing effected; the ground broken, and the siege commenced in form by sea and land. The garrison was weak; and composed of the remains of British regiments, of Maryland and Pennsylvania royalists, of Waldeckers, sailors, marines, inhabitants and negroes.

By the prudent management of Gen. Campbell, there was not the smallest discordance in so motley a garrison; and to their praise, they behaved bravely and patiently through every part of the siege. The defence was vigorous. In the first week of May the Spaniards had done nothing decisive; and yet they were not slack in advancing their works. The fate of the place was inevitable; but the reduction of it would have cost them considerably more time and trouble, if an accident had not frustrated the hopes of the besieged. The falling of a bomb, near the door of the magazine belonging to the redoubt, and which lay under its centre, decided the fate of Pensacola. The bursting of the bomb forced open the door; set fire to the powder within; and in an instant the whole redoubt was nearly a heap of rubbish. Two flank works still remained entire; and through the coolness and intrepidity

intrepidity of the officers who commanded in them, and the excellent use they made of their artillery, the besiegers, who rushed on to take advantage of the confusion and to storm the place, were in their first onset repulsed. By this brave exertion, time was obtained to carry off the wounded, and such artillery as was not buried in the ruins. But the enemy bringing on their whole force to attack the flank works, they were necessarily abandoned. In these circumstances, and without the most distant hope of relief, it would have been madness to contend longer. An honorable capitulation was obtained by Mr. Chester the governor, and General Campbell. The place was delivered up on the 9th of May. The British troops were allowed to march out with the honors of war; were to be conducted to one of the ports belonging to Great Britain, the port of Augustine and the island of Jamaica only excepted; and were not to serve against Spain or her allies until properly exchanged. The Americans are not pleased that the exception was not extended; as it left the British at liberty to send them to New York, where a part of them arrived in a polacre on the 4th of July.

Sir George Rodney, in consequence of information concerning the French fleet under the Count de Grasse, detached the admirals, Sir Samuel Hood and Drake, with 17 sail of the line, to cruise off Fort Royal for the purpose of intercepting him. On the 28th of April, some of Sir Samuel's headmost ships returned hastily in sight, and with signals announced the appearance of a superior fleet and a numerous convoy to the windward of Point Salines. The admiral made the signal for a general chase to windward: and at night it was determined by the admirals to continue the line a-head (which had been previously formed) so that getting as much as possible to windward, they might close in with Fort Royal at day light, and cut off the enemy from the harbour. In the morning the French appeared, their convoy keeping close in with the land, while Count de Grasse drew up his fleet in a line of battle a-breast for their protection; notwithstanding the utmost exertions of the British, he was joined by four ships of the line and a fifty from Fort Royal harbour. The British commanders used every manœuvre to bring him to close action: but he being to windward, and so having the choice, preferred a long shot distance. A partial engagement commenced. The van and the nearest ships in the center of the British, were exposed to a long and heavy weight of fire in their struggles to close the French and get to the windward: but suffered chiefly in their masts, hulls and rigging. The action lasted about three hours; when Sir Samuel Hood, finding that not one shot in ten of the French reached, and that his attempts



attempts to gain the wind were fruitless ceased firing. Five ships were rendered unfit for immediate service; and the *Russel* received so many shots between wind and water, that she was obliged to bear away for *Statia*. The Count de Grasse had now a decided superiority; and the following day would have brought on a close engagement, which was prevented by the unexpected manœuvres of Sir Samuel. After various movements on the part of the two fleets through the day, the British bore away in the night for *Antigua*. The French pursued in the morning, came up with the *Torbay* (which received several shot and some damage before she could be relieved) and continued the pursuit through the rest of the day, but languidly.

The arrival of the *Russel* indicated to Sir George Rodney the danger of attending longer to the sale of the effects of *Statia*. She was repaired with the utmost expedition, and in three days after her arrival, Adm. Rodney and General Vaughan, with the *Sandwich*, *Triumph*, *Russel*, and some land forces, proceeded to join Sir Samuel Hood and to protect the islands. After some time the British fleet sailed from *Antigua* to *Barbadoes*. Meanwhile the Marquis de Bouille, with a body of troops under the viscount Damas, landed [May 10.] in the night at *St. Lucie*, whose garrison was weak. The accidental arrival of a frigate, and of two sloops of war, who instantly landed their seamen and marines to man the batteries, contributed much to the preservation of the island. The most vigorous preparations were made by Gen. St. Leger for the defence of the different posts. The French fleet, of 25 sail of the line, bore down with a view of anchoring in *Gros Islet Bay*; but were received with so severe a fire, that they retired to leeward. The marquis reembarked his troops in the night, and the whole fleet stood over to *Martinico* the next morning.

On the day [23d] Sir George Rodney arrived at *Barbadoes* with the fleet, a small French squadron, with about 1200 land forces, appeared off *Tobago*, and the troops were landed the next day. Gov. Ferguson immediately dispatched the *Rattlesnake* with intelligence to the admiral; and the captain had the good fortune to deliver the dispatch at 12 o'clock on the night of the 26th. Rodney not conceiving aright either of the force of the invaders, or the strength of the garrison, contented himself with sending *Drake* with six sail of the line, some frigates, a regiment, and two additional companies to the relief of the island. *Drake* was instructed, after landing the forces, and endeavoring to destroy the squadron by which *Tobago* was invested, to rejoin Rodney without a moment's loss of time. On the day [29th] he left

left Barbadoes, Sir George received information that the French grand fleet was apparently standing toward Tobago. When Drake made it on the morning of the 30th, he discovered de Grasse with several ships to leeward, between him and the island. He explored the count's situation and strength; and on observing that it consisted of 27 sail of the line, so that it was impossible to afford any relief to the island, he hauled his wind and sailed back; but was pursued to a considerable distance, while two of his swiftest frigates were dispatched to inform Rodney of his return. Drake arrived in sight of Carlisle-bay on the 2d of June, but the remainder of the British fleet did not come out till the following day. The French had landed on the 31st of May, another body of 1200 men; while the force employed for the defence of Tobago, including regulars, militia and seamen, amounted only to 427 whites, beside a small party of 40 armed negroes. These were encamped on mount Concordia; where they remained from the 25th of May to the 1st of June, when they evacuated the post at one in the morning, and retired to their last fastness, the way to which was extremely difficult. The Marquis de Bouille pursued the garrison with the utmost eagerness; but finding his troops overcome by the heat, while the fugitives were still four miles a-head of him, and that he could not even procure any person who would conduct his troops through the intricate ways they had to pass, he determined upon making terror unite with force in the shortening of a business, which might be not only tedious, but prove an hindrance to other great objects still in view. He accordingly ordered two capital plantations, which were nearest at hand, to be reduced to ashes; and perceiving that their destruction did not produce the desired effect, he ordered that four more should meet with a similar fate at the commencement of every four hours, till a surrender should be made to the morning summons he had sent to the garrison. The militia now absolutely refused to hold out any longer. All the governor's remonstrances were in vain. The commanding officer of the regulars refused to obey his orders, and the soldiers, determined to capitulate. The governor was at length prevailed on to consent to a capitulation, which took place on the 2d of June. The conditions were exceedingly favorable and advantageous to the island.

The British fleet, amounting to 20 or 21 ships of the line, were soon informed on their arrival off Tobago of the loss of the island. The next day they were in sight of the French fleet, consisting of 24 sail of the line. The British ships were cleared with the utmost alacrity for action. Count de Grasse was to leeward, and seemed



seemed more disposed to seek than to shun an engagement: the option was on the side of Sir George Rodney, who in the present instance declined fighting, and probably on very warrantable grounds. Soon after, the count sailed for Martinico.

Certain acts of congress here deserve to be noticed.

On the 26th of May, Mr. Morris, twelve days after he had signified his acceptance of the office of superintendant of finance, had the satisfaction of learning, that the congress had that day approved of the plan for establishing a national bank in the United States, which he had submitted to their consideration of the 17th. They resolved to promote and support it; and that the subscribers should be incorporated under the name of—*The president, directors and company of the bank of North America*. They also recommended to the several states the making of proper laws for the prevention of other banks or bankers being established or allowed within the said states respectively during the war. It is thought, that this bank will be of eminent service to the United States, and tend greatly to lessen their embarrassments; and that it will be no less beneficial to the public than to the individual subscribers.

Congress agreed [June 14.] “That the minister plenipotentiary at Versailles, be authorized to offer Lieut. Gen. Burgoyne in exchange for the honorable Henry Laurens. On July the 23d, they resolved—“That five suitable persons be appointed and authorized to open a subscription for a loan of 30,000 dollars, for the support of such of the citizens of South Carolina and Georgia, as have been driven from their country and possessions by the enemy, the said states respectively, by their delegates in congress, pledging their faith for the repayment of the sums so lent with interest, in proportion to the sums which shall be received by their respective citizens, as soon as the legislatures of the said states shall severally be in condition to make provision for so doing, and congress hereby guaranteeing this obligation:—That the said five persons do also receive voluntary and free donations to be applied to the further relief of the said sufferers:—Ordered, That the president send a copy of the above resolution to the executives of the several states not in the power of the enemy, requesting them to promote the success of the said loan and donation in such way as they shall think best.”

To your comprehending this resolution, you must be informed of the following particulars. In June, a general exchange of prisoners was agreed to for the southern states, in which the militia on both sides were respectively exchanged for each other. Notwithstanding every difficulty, a considerable number of the inhabitants had perseveringly refused to become British subjects. These

being exchanged, were delivered, as well as the continental officers, at the American posts in Virginia and Pennsylvania. The suffering friends of independence exulted at the prospect of their being released from confinement, and restored to activity in their country's cause: but their prospects were obscured by the distresses brought on their families by this otherwise desirable event. On the 25th of June the British commandant at Charlestown, Lieutenant Col. Balfour, issued the following order—"As many persons lately exchanged as prisoners of war, and others who have long chose to reside in the colonies now in rebellion, have, notwithstanding such their absence, wives and families still remaining here, the weight of which, on all accounts, it is equally impolitic as inconsistent should longer be suffered to rest on the government established here and the resources of it—The commandant is therefore pleased to direct, that all such women, children and others as above described, should quit this town and province on or before the first day of August next ensuing; of which regulation all such persons are hereby ordered to take notice, and to remove themselves accordingly."

Here let me introduce an account of the manner in which most of the whig ladies conducted while they remained in Charlestown. They showed an amazing fortitude, and the strongest attachment to the cause of their country, and gloried in the appellation of rebel ladies. Neither soothing persuasions, nor menacing hints, nor their own natural turn for gaiety and amusement, could prevail on them to grace the ball or assembly with their presence, to oblige the British officers with their hand in a dance, or even to accompany them, notwithstanding the engaging qualities that many of them possessed. But no sooner was an American officer introduced as a prisoner, than his company was sought for and his person treated with every possible mark of attention and respect. They even visited the prison ships and other places of confinement to solace their suffering countrymen. At other seasons they retired in a great measure from the public eye, wept over the distresses of their country, and gave every proof of the warmest attachment to its suffering cause. In the height of the British conquests, when poverty and ruin seemed the unavoidable portion of every adherent to the independence of America, they discovered more firmness than the men. Many of them, like guardian angels, preserved their husbands from falling in the hour of temptation, when interest and convenience had almost gotten the better of honor and patriotism. Many examples could be produced of their cheerfully parting with their sons, husbands and brothers (among those who were banished, and whose property was seized by



the conquerors) exhorting them to fortitude; and repeatedly entreating them never to suffer family attachments to interfere with the duty they owed to their country. Such exemplary patriotism excited in several British officers a mean resentment, which put them upon employing the negroes in rude insults on those distinguished heroines. When the successes of General Greene afforded the latter an opportunity, they adopted a genteel retaliation by dressing in green and ornamenting their persons with green sashes and ribbons, and thus parading the streets in triumph.

The gentlemen, who had been removed from Charlestown to St. Augustine, as has been already related, obtained their release by the general exchange, and were delivered at Philadelphia.— They had suffered greatly since they were sent off. Lieut. Gov. Gadsden, to express his indignation at the ungenerous treatment he had met with, refused to accept an offered parole in St. Augustine; and with the greatest fortitude, bore a close confinement in the castle for forty-two weeks, rather than give a second parole to a power which he considered as having plainly violated the engagement contained in the first. The other gentlemen renewed their paroles and had the liberty of the town, but were treated with much indignity. As if no dependence could be placed on their honor, they were ordered every day to appear on the public parade, and to answer to their names at roll calling.— For upward of ten months they were debarred from corresponding with their wives and families, unless they would subject every letter to examination. Destitute of gold and silver, they could scarcely support themselves; and were less able to provide for their connections, who were left in want and in the power of the conquerors. The earliest alleviation of their sorrows, after the cartel had been settled, was denied to them. Though their wives and children, who had been left in Charlestown, were ordered to Philadelphia at the same time with themselves, Balfour gave express direction that they should not be suffered to touch at Charlestown. More than a thousand persons were, by the measures of the commandant, exiled from their homes, and thrown on the charity of strangers for their support. Husbands and wives, parents and children, some of whom had been for several months separated from each other, were doomed to have their first interview in a distant land. To alleviate the distresses of these and similar sufferers, Congress passed the preceding resolution. The propriety of it was still more apparent some time after, when what had been transacted at Charlestown was known.— Several of the exchanged persons were owners of landed property in that town; and by the capitulation had an undoubted right

to dispose of it for their own advantage. They were however debarred that liberty by the following order, issued on the 11th of July—"The commandant is pleased to direct, that no person, living under the rebel government, shall have liberty, or grant power to others for so doing, to let or lease any house within this town without a special license for so doing, as it is intended to take all such houses as may be wanted for the public service, paying to the owners of those secured by the capitulation a reasonable rent for the same, as by this means government will be enabled to re-instate its firm friends in possession of their own houses within a short space of time." In consequence of this mandate, the exchanged sufferers could make no present advantage of their property in Charlestown, and were subjected to the pleasure of the British for any future compensation.

When the general exchange took place in June, out of 1900 prisoners taken at the surrender of Charlestown, on the 12th of May, 1780, and several hundreds more taken afterward at Camden and Fishing Creek, on the 16th and 18th of August, only 740 were restored to the service of their country. The unfortunate men were crowded on board the prison ships in such numbers, that several were obliged to stand up for want of room to lie down. Congress could not command hard money for their relief. Wine, and such like comforts, particularly necessary for the sick in southern climates, could not be obtained from the British hospitals. Many died. But it was not by deaths alone that the Americans were deprived of their soldiers. Lord Charles Greville Montague insisted 530 of them for the British service in Jamaica.

The exchange brought relief to the continental officers taken at Charlestown. They were confined at Haddrell's Point and its vicinity. Far from friends and destitute of hard money, they were reduced to the greatest straits. Many of them, though born in affluence and habituated to attendance, were compelled to do not only the most menial offices for themselves, but could scarcely procure the plainest necessaries of life. During a captivity of thirteen months, they received no more from their country than nine days pay. They were debarred the liberty of fishing for their support, though their great leisure and many wants made it an object not only as an amusement, but as a mean of supplying their necessities. After bearing these evils with fortitude, they were informed in March, by Lieutenant Colonel Balfour, that, by positive orders from Lord Cornwallis, he was to send them to some one of the West India islands. Preparations were made for the execution



execution of the mandate; but the general exchange of prisoners rendered them abortive.

It appearing to Congress from the representation of the American gov. Clinton and other information, that commissions had been granted by the Gov. of Connecticut, authorizing the persons to whom they were given, among other things, to go on Long Island and other islands adjacent, and seize the goods and merchandise they should there find, the property of British subjects; and that the said commissions were attended with many abuses dangerous to the public, as well as distressing to the citizens and friends of these United States, inhabiting the said islands, some of whom, under pretext of the powers contained in such commissions, had been plundered of their property, and otherwise badly treated: and that the further continuance of the said commissions would impede the public service in that quarter,—they, “Therefore resolved, [August 7.] that the Gov. of Connecticut be, and he is hereby, desired immediately to revoke such commissions, as far as they authorize the seizure of goods on Long Island or elsewhere, on land not within the state of Connecticut.” It was high time to revoke them, for under their cover a set of unprincipled plunderers committed greater ravages upon many of the fast friends of America, than the words of Congress fully express.

In consequence of instructions of August the 3d, Gen. Washington wrote on the 21st—“The almost daily complaints of the severities exercised toward the American marine prisoners in New York, have induced the Congress to direct me to remonstrate to the commanding officer of his British majesty’s ships upon the subject. The principal complaint now is, the inadequacy of the room in the prison ships, to the number of prisoners confined on board them, which occasions the death of many, and is the occasion of most intolerable inconveniences and distresses to those who survive.” He had written early in the spring to Sir H. Clinton—“The very healthy condition, in which all prisoners have been returned by us since the commencement of the war, carries with it a conviction, that they have been uniformly and comfortably accommodated and fed on wholesome provisions. So conscious have I been, that the situation in which we always kept prisoners of war would bear inspection, that I have never been averse to having them visited by an officer of your own, who might be a witness to the propriety of their treatment. A request of this nature was a very little time ago refused to us by the officer commanding the British navy in the harbour of New York.”

On August the 21st, Congress authorized Gen. Washington to go into a full exchange of Gen. Burgoyne, and all the remaining officers

officers of the Saratoga convention; and resolved that the prisoners taken by the British at the Cedars, should be considered as subjects of exchange. That day week they ordered the board of war to make a sale of certain cannon and stores in the state of Rhode Island, for *specie only*. This may be considered as a declarative act on their part against the further circulation of a paper currency. It has indeed ceased by common consent. Without it the Americans could not have carried on the war to the present period. The public benefit it has been of in this instance, will compensate in the estimation of patriotic politicians, for the immense evils of which it has otherwise been the occasion. The tender laws on one hand, and depreciation on the other, rendered it the bane of society. All classes were infected. It produced a rage for speculating. The mechanic, the farmer, the lawyer, the physician, the member of Congress, and even a few of the clergy, in some places, were contaminated, and commenced merchants and speculators. The morals of the people were corrupted beyond any thing that could have been believed prior to the event. All ties of honor, blood, gratitude, humanity and justice were dissolved. Old debts were paid in several states when the paper money was more than 70 for one in hard cash; and in Virginia when at 300 for one. Brothers defrauded brothers, children parents and parents children. Widows, orphans and others, who had lived happily on their annual interest, were impoverished by being obliged to take depreciated paper for the specie principal that had been lent; creditors were frequently compelled to receive their debts in that currency, from men who confessed before witnesses, that the cash they borrowed saved them and their families from ruin.—A person who had been supplied with specie in the jail at Philadelphia, while the British had possession of the city, repaid it in paper afterward at a tenth part of its value. No class of people suffered more by the depreciation than salary-men, and especially the clergy, particularly in the New England states. They were reduced to the greatest difficulties, and were much injured, by having their annual incomes paid them in paper, without having the badness of its quality compensated in the quantity allowed them. When in the beginning of the year, some compensation was voted to them in certain places, the increased depreciation, before the salary was paid, destroyed in a great measure the efficacy of the vote. It has been observed by some, that the quakers and methodists in Pennsylvania, were faithful to their old engagements, and were not corrupted by handling paper money. Though these denominations excelled, there were many individuals in all religious societies through the United States that



that preserved their integrity. As a striking instance of the nature and effects of a depreciating paper currency, the following is related out of many. A merchant of Boston sold a hogshead of rum, for twenty pounds, cask included. The purchaser did not settle for it, till after the seller applied to him for an empty hogshead, for which he was charged thirty pounds. When they came to settle, the merchant found upon examining, that he had to pay a balance of ten pounds on that very cask, which, with the rum it contained, he had sold for twenty.

The extinction of the paper has occasioned no convulsion; and the specie which the French army and navy have already introduced, which the trade now opening with the Spanish and French West India islands will furnish, and which the loan from France will supply—this joint quantity added to what will now be brought into use by those whose precaution led them to store up their hard money, will prevent the mischiefs that must otherwise have ensued from a total want of a circulating medium. The extraordinary change of this medium without shaking the United States to the very foundation, intimates a peculiarity in the circumstances and disposition of the Americans, distinguishing them from the inhabitants of old countries.

A few detached particulars remain to be related before the present letter is forwarded.

On the 11th of August, 3000 German troops arrived at New York from Europe. The same day the American frigate *Trumbull* was carried in by one of the king's ships. This capture has reduced the naval force of the United States to two frigates, the *Alliance* and the *Deane*. A number of fine privateers have also been taken by the royal navy; but there are still a great many from the different states which have been very successful.

By various channels, and particularly the arrival of a French frigate from Brest on the 15th of August, certain advice has been received of the French having captured a number of ships from *Statia*. It seems, that France determining to profit from the absence of the British grand fleet, equipped 7 or 8 ships of the line at Brest, which were sent out in the beginning of May, under M. de la Motte Piquet, in order to intercept the *Statia* convoy, freighted with the most valuable commodities taken at that island, as well as a rich fleet on its way home from Jamaica. Mr. Piquet succeeded in the first part of the design. Commodore Hotham had only four ships for the protection of the *Statia* convoy. Fourteen of the merchantmen were taken: but the men of war, with the remainder of the convoy, sheltered themselves in some of the western ports of Ireland. The French commander considering the  
number

number and richness of the prizes, gave up all views upon the Jamaica fleet, and returned immediately to Brest, by which means he escaped falling in with the British squadron. We have learned, that the sale of the prizes was advertised in France for the 10th of July last.

On the 25th of August, another French frigate arrived in Boston, with two large vessels under her convoy. They were on their passage 36 days longer than the frigate which arrived on the 15th. They have brought clothing, military stores, and a quantity of specie. Colonel Laurens returned by this conveyance. He reached France by the middle of March, and executed his commission with great dispatch and success.

## L E T T E R IX.

*Rotterdam, October 13, 1781.*

FRIEND G.

Commodore Johnstone's squadron, which sailed for the East Indies, consisted of a 47, a 64, and three 50 gun ships, beside several frigates, a bomb vessel, fire ship, and some sloops of war. A land force, commanded by Gen. Meadows, and composed of three new regiments of 1000 each, accompanied it. Several outward bound East Indiamen, and store or ordnance vessels, went out with this convoy; and the whole fleet, including transports and armed ships, amounted to more than 40 sail. The Dutch war undoubtedly occasioned a change of the object of the armament, and the substitution of an attempt upon the Cape of Good Hope, instead of an enterprise against the Spaniards in South America. This change did not escape the penetration of France and Holland. The latter therefore applied to her newly for assistance, to ward off the danger to which all her East India possessions would be exposed, if Johnstone succeeded. On that a squadron of five ships of the line, and some frigates, with a body of land forces, were destined to this service, under Mr. de Suffrein, who sailed from Brest in company with Count de Grasse. The naval part of the armament was ultimately designed to oppose the British fleet in the East Indies: but Suffrein's particular instructions were to pursue and counteract Johnstone, upon every occasion and in every possible manner, keeping at the same time



a constant eye to the effectual protection of the Cape. The court of Versailles was accurately informed of Johnstone's force, and of all the circumstances attending the convoy; and might not be totally ignorant of his course, any more than of his destination.

Commodore Johnstone put into the Cape de Verd islands for water and fresh provisions. There being no particular apprehension of an enemy, the ships lay without much care or order, in an open harbour belonging to the principal town of St. Jago, the most considerable of the islands. A great number of the crews were absent from the ships, and were engaged in various occupations, necessary to the preparation or supply of so many vessels for so long a voyage. Several officers and men were on shore partaking of the health and recreation of the island. In this unprepared state, the Isis man of war discovered in the morning of April 16, a squadron approaching the entrance of the harbour, which was soon judged to be French. Signals were instantly thrown out for unmooring, for recalling the people on shore, and preparing for action. The British fleet was taken at a great disadvantage. Mr. de Suffrein, leaving his convoy, was soon in the centre of it; the French ships firing on both sides as they passed. The French Hannibal of 74 guns led the way with great intrepidity, under the command of Mr. de Tremignon. When as near to the British as he could fetch, he dropped his anchor with a noble air of resolution. The Heros of the same force, Mr. de Suffrein's own ship, took the next place; and the Artesien of 64, anchored astern of the Heros. The Vengeur and Sphynx, of 64 guns each, ranged up and down as they could through the crowd of ships, and fired on either side at every one they passed. Commodore Johnstone's own ship, being too far advanced toward the bottom of the bay, and too much intercepted by the vessels that lay between to take an active part in the action, he quitted her and went on board another. The engagement lasted about an hour and a half. Some time after it began, several of the East India ships fired with good effect on the French. In about an hour the situation of the French ships at anchor became too intolerable to be endured; and the captain of the Artesien being killed, she cut her cable, and made the best of her way out. Suffrein, deserted by his second astern, found the danger so great that he followed the example. The Hannibal was now left alone to be fired at by every ship whose guns could be brought to bear on her, while she herself was so injured, that her returns were slow and ineffective. She lost her bowsprit and all her masts, and remained a mere hulk upon the water. She however joined the other ships at the mouth of the bay; was towed off and assisted in erecting

jury masts. The commodore pursued, but the damage sustained by the *Isis*, the nature of the winds and currents, with the lateness of the day, concurred in preventing his renewing the engagement. The French bore away no trophy of the action. Considering the closeness of it, the smoothness of the water, with the number and crowded situation of the shipping, the loss of men was very small. May 2, the British fleet sailed from St. Jago, and toward the middle of June, the commodore dispatched Captain Pigot, with some of the best sailing frigates and cutters, toward the southern extremity of Africa, to gain intelligence if possible of the state of the enemy in that quarter, with instructions to rejoin him at a given point of latitude and longitude. Pigot fell in with and took a large Dutch East India ship, from Saldanha bay near the Cape. She was laden with stores and provisions, had on board 40,000*l.* in bullion, and was bound for the isle of Ceylon. From her the commodore learned, that Suffrein, with five ships of the line, most of his transports, and a considerable body of troops, had arrived at the Cape on the 21<sup>st</sup> of June; and that several homeward bound Dutch East India ships were then at anchor in Saldanha bay, about 14 leagues to the northward of the Cape town and fort. The timely arrival of the French squadron having frustrated the designs of the British against the Cape, Johnstone determined to profit by what was yet within reach, and to attempt possessing himself of the Dutch ships in the bay of Saldanha. The scheme was well conducted. The Dutch had hardly time, from the discovery to the coming up of the British ships, to loose their vessels, cut their cables, and run them on shore. The men of war's boats being instantly manned, the seamen with great alacrity boarded the Indiamen already set on fire, extinguished the flames, and saved four large ones, from 1000 to 1100 tons each. Johnstone's dispatches were dated the 21<sup>st</sup> of August.

Several of the English counties associated and chose delegates, to give support and efficacy to the subject of their former petitions to parliament. About 40 of the delegates met in London. As acting for their constituents, they prepared a petition to the house of commons, in which the substance of those already presented being compressed within a narrower compass, the matters of grievance and the redress proposed were brought forward in one clear point of view. But to obviate difficulties and prevent objections, they signed the petition merely as individual freeholders, without any assumption or avowal of their delegated powers or character. The petition was presented by Mr. Duncombe, one of the representatives of the county of York, and continued for some weeks on the table, till the recovery of Sir George Saville, who was to proceed



proceed with the business. Sir George [8th] introduced his motion for referring the petition (after the first reading) to a committee, with a speech of very considerable length. After a long debate, the motion for committing the petition was overruled by a majority of 160 to 86.

The war with the Dutch made it necessary for the British to have a force in the North Seas, capable of injuring their commerce on that side on the one hand, and of protecting their own on the other; as also of cutting off the Dutch from receiving supplies of naval stores wherewith to restore their marine. This important service was intrusted to the conduct of Admiral Hyde Parker. The admiral sailed from Portsmouth the beginning of June, with four ships of the line, and a fifty gun ship for the North Seas. Mean while Holland strained every nerve for the equipment of a force, that might be able to convoy their outward bound trade to the Baltic, and to protect its return, if not to intercept the British, and become masters of those seas. Some days after the middle of July, Admiral Zoutmon and Commodore Kindtsbergen sailed from the Texel, with a great convoy under their protection. Their force consisted of eight ships of the line from 54 to 74 guns, of 10 frigates and 5 sloops. Several of the frigates were very large. Admiral Parker was on his return with a large convoy from Elsinour. He had been joined by several frigates since his leaving Portsmouth, and by the Dolphin of 44 guns, and in this crisis he was reinforced by a 74. His fleet consisted of an 80 gun ship, two 74's, a 64, a 60, a 50, a 44, a 40, a 38, a 36, a 32, and a cutter of 10 guns.

The hostile fleets came in sight of each other on the Dogger-Bank early in the morning of the 5th of August. One of the Dutch line of battle ships had returned to port; but as a forty-four gun ship was substituted in her place, their line still consisted of eight two deckers. The British commander perceiving the number and strength of the Dutch frigates, detached the convoy with orders to keep their wind, sending his own frigates along with them for their protection, and then threw out a general signal to the squadron to chase. The Dutch likewise sent off their convoy to a distance, when they drew up with great coolness in order of battle, and waited the attack with the utmost composure.—Neither side practised any manœuvre to elude the decision of a naval action. The parties were equally determined to fight it out. A gloomy silence expressive of the most fixed resolution prevailed, and not a gun was fired, until the fleets were within little more than pistol shot distance. Admiral Parker in the *Fortitude* of 74 guns, ranging abreast of Admiral Zoutman's ship, the *Admiral*

miral de Ruyter of 68, the action commenced with the utmost fury and violence on both sides. The cannonade continued without intermission for three hours and forty minutes. Some of the British ships fired 2500 shot each. The effect of the ancient naval emulation was eminently displayed in the obstinacy of the battle. In the beginning the British fire was remarkably quick, while that of the Dutch was slow; when it closed, the case was reversed, and the fire of the Dutch was remarkably quick, while that of the British was slow. The British ships at length were so unmanageable, that though their admiral made an effort to form the line that he might renew the action, he found it to be impracticable. His ships were shattered in their masts, rigging and sails. The Dutch were in a still worse condition, some of them having received several shot under water. Both squadrons lay to a considerable time near each other. At last the Dutch bore away for the Texel; and the British were in no condition to follow them. The *Hollandia* of 68 guns, one of their best ships, went down in the night of the engagement so suddenly, that the crew were reduced to the melancholy necessity of abandoning their wounded when they quitted her. Though she sunk in 22 fathoms, her top-masts were still above water and her pendant flying, which being discovered in the morning by one of the British frigates, was struck and carried to Admiral Parker as a trophy. When the Dutch entered the Texel, an officer from the fleet went on board the *Charlestown* frigate of 36 heavy guns upon one deck, which had been lying there the whole time, and related to the captain the particulars of the action.

The action was very bloody. On the side of the British, who were the least sufferers in that respect, 104 were killed, and 339 wounded in the seven ships that were engaged. Several brave officers fell on both sides. The British regretted much the death of Captain Macartney, who left a widow and large family. His son, a boy of seven years old, was by his side when he was killed; his fortitude, as well upon that occasion as through the whole action, astonished the boldest seamen in the ship. Mr. Harrington, one of Admiral Parker's lieutenants, an officer of 40 years service, and of the most distinguished merit, was mortally wounded.— Though of an affluent fortune and too much neglected, he nobly disdained to withdraw his professional abilities from the defence of his country in this trying season. The British admiral's letter giving an account of the action was concise, and modest with respect to his own side, while just in paying full honor to the valor of his enemy. In Britain, the conduct and valor displayed in the action met with great and general approbation: but an apprehended



tended neglect in government or the admiralty, in not furnishing the admiral with a larger force, excited no less dissatisfaction. It was said, that, at the very time, as many ships were lying idle in port, or waiting for orders in the Downs, as would have enabled Parker to capture the whole Dutch fleet and convoy. The admiral's subsequent conduct, as well as an intimation given in his letter to the admiralty, strongly confirmed the public opinion, and indicated that he was no less dissatisfied at the want of support, than others were at its not being given. On his arrival at the Nore with his shattered squadron, he was honored with a royal visit; but it was soon understood, that no further honor or intended promotion would be accepted by the sturdy veteran. The king went on board the *Fortitude*, where he had a levee of all the officers of the squadron, who were received with the most gracious attention; and the admiral had the honor of dining with his majesty and the prince of Wales on board the royal yacht. We have been told, that upon that occasion Admiral Parker took an opportunity of hinting (in the presence of the first lord of the admiralty and a number of naval officers) both his dissatisfaction and intention of retiring, by saying to his sovereign—"That he wished him younger officers and better ships; and that he was grown too old for the service." It was related also as an anecdote at the time, that young Macartney being *presented* on board the *Fortitude*, and the royal intention of providing for him, for the sake of his brave father, being declared, the admiral apologized for informing his majesty, that he had already adopted him as his own. Admiral Parker resigned his command immediately after: but it was probably intended as a mark of favor and regard to him, that his son Sir Hyde (who had been before knighted for his good conduct in North America and the West Indies) was now appointed to the command of a squadron of frigates, which were employed in blocking up the Dutch ports during the remainder of the season for keeping those seas.

The Dutch, beside losing the *Hollandia*, had two of their capital ships so totally ruined in the action, as to be declared incapable of further service. Their loss of men is thought to have exceeded 1000 in killed, wounded and sunk. The idea of prosecuting the voyage to the Baltic was given up; and their immense carrying trade was annihilated for the remainder of the year. The Hollanders however were much elated with the bravery of their countrymen. Before the naval battle on Dogger's Bank, every spring was touched to excite popular resentments against the Americans and French, so that the regents of Amsterdam were under the necessity of taking the like precautions which would have

have been practised had an enemy been in the neighbourhood; and the gloom and despondency at the Hague and elsewhere was terrible: after it, the Dutchmen became courageous, and all their apprehensions seemed to disappear. This action being the first of any consequence, in which they have been engaged for the much greater part of a century, the States General were beyond measure liberal in the praise, rewards and honors, which they bestowed on their officers. Admiral Zoutman and Commodore Kindbergen were immediately promoted; and most, if not all of the first and second captains, as well as several of the lieutenants, were either advanced, or flattered with some peculiar mark of distinction. Count Bentinck, who boldly fought the Batavia, and who, though mortally wounded, and informed that his ship was in danger of sinking, would not listen to a proposal for quitting his station, was soothed in his last moments by every mark of honor and testimony of regard, which his country and his prince could bestow; and his funeral was not more honorable to the brave dead, than to the grateful living. But however the Dutch have exulted in that the marine courage of their ancestors had not forsaken them, they are much dissatisfied that their fleet was not augmented by two or more ships, which they think would have secured to them a complete victory over the British admiral, and have put his convoy into their possession. They are ready to impute this failure to a treacherous neglect, originating from a prevailing attachment in some to the interests of Great Britain.

The French, to remove all unfavorable jealousies that the Spaniards might entertain respecting the attention of their ally to the Spanish interests, engaged to co-operate with them in attempting the recovery of Minorca—an event which, should it take place, would be highly pleasing to Spain, while it was no wise injurious to France. The plan being laid, the Duke de Crillon, a French commander of repute, was taken into the Spanish service, and appointed to conduct their forces to be employed in executing it. Count de Guichen sailed from Brest near the end of June, with 18 capital ships (four of which carried 110 guns each) to join the Spanish fleet and support the invasion. The not endeavoring to intercept this fleet, or at least to prevent a junction so full of danger, occasioned great complaint against the British admiralty, especially the first lord of that department. The combined fleets sailed from Cadiz, with about 10,000 Spanish troops before the end of July. The French had been reinforced by several ships of the line. The Spanish fleet amounted to about 30 sail of the line under Don Lewis de Cordova. The army effected its landing at Minorca without opposition on the 20th of August; and



and was soon joined by six regiments from Toulon, under Major Gen. Count de Falkenhayn, deemed one of the best officers in the French service. The garrison was weak, and consisted only of two British and two Hanoverian regiments. But it was commanded by Lieut. Gen. Murray and Major Gen. Sir William Draper.

The combined fleets, after seeing the troops safe into the Mediterranean, returned to cruise at the mouth of the British channel. No intelligence of this naval manœuvre was obtained, nor was the design suspected by the British ministry, until the combined fleets were in the chops of the channel, and had formed a line from Ushant to the isles of Scilly, in order to bar its entrance: so that Adm. Darby, who was then at sea with only 21 ships of the line, was on the point of falling in with them, when the accidental meeting of a neutral vessel afforded him notice of their situation. In these unexpected circumstances [Aug. 24.] he returned to Torbay, where he moored his squadron across the entrance, while he waited for instructions from the admiralty. As soon as the commanders of the combined fleets had received intelligence of Darby's position, and of the inferiority of his force in point of number, a council of war was held, on the question of attacking him. They were under orders to fight, if the occasion offered: but the instructions were thought not to reach the present case, which would be an attack on the British squadron in a bay on their own coasts. Under this change of circumstances, it was supposed, that they were left at large, to the free exercise of their own judgment.

The Count de Guichen is said to have contended strongly for an immediate attack. He argued, that if by good fortune and the valor of the combined navies, along with the powerful aid of fire-ships, the British fleet was destroyed, the power of Great Britain on the seas would be at an end, and the war decided by the blow. Don Vincent Doz, the third of the Spanish commanders, supported this opinion. He asserted, that the destroying of Darby's fleet was very practicable, and that it would be difficult to excuse their not making the attempt; and to give the greater weight to his sentiments, he boldly offered to command the van squadron, and to lead on the attack in his own ship.

On the other hand, Mr. de Beauffet, the next in command under Guichen, said—"All the advantage which the allies derive from their superiority of force and number, will be entirely lost by an attack upon Admiral Darby's fleet in the present situation; for we cannot bear down upon him in a line of battle abreast; of course we must form the line of battle a-head, and go  
down

down upon the enemy singly, by which we shall run the greatest hazard of being shattered and torn to pieces, before we can get into our stations, by the fixed aim and angular fire in every direction, of such a number of great and well-provided ships, drawn up to the greatest advantage, and lying moored and steady in the water. I conclude therefore, that as the attempt on the British fleet in Torbay will, in my opinion, be unwarrantable in the design and exceedingly hazardous in the execution, the allied fleets should direct their whole attention to that grand and attainable object of intercepting the English homeward bound West India fleets." Don Louis de Cordova, with all the Spanish flag officers, except Doz, coincided entirely with him in opinion, so that the idea of attacking Darby in Torbay was abandoned.

Mean while a great alarm was spread in Ireland as well as Britain, with respect to the apprehended designs of the enemy. Not only the great outward bound fleet for America and the West Indies was supposed to be in imminent danger then in the open harbour of Corke; but the city itself, being totally unfortified and at the same time stored with immense quantities of provision. The regular forces of the kingdom were therefore ordered to the southward for the protection of that city and coast; and the patriotic volunteers, who had gained so much honor in supporting and reclaiming the liberties of their country, showed no less patriotism in their immediate offer to government of taking the field, and of marching wherever their services should be necessary for its defence. They had perfected themselves in the military exercise, and had been reviewed in several places by the earl of Charlemont.

Admiral Darby remained at Torbay; but was soon reinforced by several ships from different ports, till his squadron was increased to 30 sail of the line, with which he was ordered to sea with the utmost expedition, for the preservation of the expected West India convoy. The delay however of waiting for the reinforcement and instructions in the first instance, and contrary winds afterward, detained the fleet till the 14th of September, notwithstanding the urgency of the occasion. Before it failed, the combined fleets had separated. They were in exceeding bad condition. In the first outset they were poorly manned, the Spanish particularly. Beside a great mortality, which had prevailed during the whole cruise, and a prodigious number of sick in both fleets, a considerable majority of the ships were scarcely capable of living at sea in a violent gale. The hard weather therefore that came on in the beginning of September, frustrated all their views; so that abandoning all hopes of intercepting the British convoys,



convoys, they were glad to get into port as soon as possible. The French fleet returned to Brest the 11th of September, and the Spanish proceeded directly home.

The present shall close with extracts from some curious letters—To Mr. Vergennes. Passy, Feb. 13, 1781. "I am grown old, and it is probable I shall not long have any more concern in these affairs. I therefore take occasion to express my opinion to your excellency, that the present conjuncture is critical;—that there is some danger lest the Congress should lose its influence over the people, if it is unable to procure the aids that are wanted, and that the whole system of the new government in America may thereby be shaken;—and that if the English are suffered once to recover the country, such an opportunity of effectual operation may not occur again in the course of ages." To —. March 12, 1781. "To give the states a signal proof of his friendship, his majesty has resolved to grant them the sum of six millions [of livres] not as a loan, but as a free gift. The sum was intended for the supply of the army, and it was thought best to put it into the general's [Washington's] hands, that he should draw for it, that it might not get into those of the different boards or committees, who might think themselves under a necessity of diverting it to other purposes. There was no room to dispute on this point, every donor having the right of qualifying his gift with such terms as he thinks proper.—The minister proceeded to inform me, that the courts of Petersburg and Vienna had offered their mediation. It was not doubted, that congress would readily accept the proposed mediation, from their own sense of its being useful and necessary.—I have passed my seventy-fifth year."—[Soon after this was written, Col. Laurens arrived, which gave occasion for mentioning] "July 26, 1781. With regard to the six millions given by the king in aid of our operations for the present campaign, before the arrival of Mr. Laurens, two million five hundred thousand of it went in the same ship with him in cash—two million two hundred thousand were ordered by him and are shipped—one million five hundred thousand was sent to Holland to go in the ship commanded by Capt. Gillon."

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## L E T T E R X.

*Roxbury, January 12, 1782.*

CERTAIN resolutions of Congress, as they refer to Colonel Laurens and the supplies from France, (whose arrival has

been mentioned) necessarily demand our first attention. On report of a committee, to whom was referred a letter of the 2d of last September, together with sundry papers, containing an account of the negociation with which he was intrusted, Congress resolved on the 4th, "That all the clothing, artillery, arms and military stores, shipped in pursuance of the orders of the honorable John Laurens, for the use of the United States, be, upon their arrival in any of the ports of these United States, delivered to the order of the board of war, who are hereby empowered and directed to take charge and direction of the same:—That all the money shipped by the order of Mr. Laurens, for the use of the United States, be, upon its arrival, delivered to the order of the superintendent of finance, who is hereby empowered and directed to take charge of the same."—The next day they resolved—"That the conduct of Lieut. Col. Laurens, in his mission to the court of Versailles, as special minister of the United States, is highly agreeable to Congress, and entitles him to public approbation." To supply any deficiency that there might be in their resolution respecting monies arriving from Europe, they resolved on the 3d of December—"That the superintendent of the finances be, and hereby is authorized and directed to apply and dispose of all monies which have been or may be obtained in Europe by subsidy, loan or otherwise, according to the several resolutions and acts of Congress now existing, or which may hereafter be made for the appropriation of monies belonging to the United States." However gratefully they thought of the French king's free gift, they could not with any propriety accede to the mode in which it was to be applied to the benefit of the United States. By passing into the hands of the Commander in Chief, it would subject the army to an appearance of being pensioned by France, and when generally known by the troops might loosen their relative dependence upon Congress; they therefore wisely directed, that the military stores should be delivered to the order of the board of war, and that the disposal of the monies should rest with the superintendent, subject to their own appointments.

We must now pass to South Carolina.

When the continental officers under Gen. Greene had heard of the manner in which Col. Hayne was executed, and that notwithstanding the general cartel, several officers of militia were still detained in captivity, they made a representation thereof in writing to Greene on the 20th of August; and recommended, that a strict enquiry should be made into the several matters mentioned, and if ascertained, that he would be pleased to retaliate in the most effectual manner, by a similar treatment of British subjects who were or might be in his power. They voluntarily sub-

jected



sected themselves to all the consequences, to which they would be  
 exposed in case of capture. A few days after, Greene issued from  
 his headquarters at Camden a proclamation, wherein he express-  
 ly declared—"It is my intention to make reprisals for all such  
 inhuman insults, as often as they shall take place."—He added,  
 "I further declare, that it is my intention to take the officers of  
 the regular forces, and not the seduced inhabitants who have join-  
 ed their army, for the objects of my reprisals." Greene demand-  
 ed also from the British commanders their reasons for the execu-  
 tion of Hayne. He received a written answer, signed N. Bal-  
 four, in which there was an acknowledgment, "that it took place  
 by the joint order of Lord Rawdon and himself, but in conse-  
 quence of the most express directions from Lord Cornwallis, to  
 put to death those who should be found in arms, after being at  
 their own requests received as subjects, since the capitulation of  
 Charlestown, and the clear conquest of the province in the sum-  
 mer of 1780." General Greene replied to Lieut. Col. Balfour  
 on the 19th of September—"Sir, your favor of the 3d instant I  
 have received, and am happy for the honor of Col. Hayne, to  
 find nothing better to warrant his cruel and unjust execution,  
 than the order of Lord Cornwallis, given in the hour of victory,  
 when he considered the lives, liberties and property of the people  
 prostrate at his feet, but I confess I cannot express my astonish-  
 ment, that you and Lord Rawdon should give such an extraordi-  
 nary example of severity, upon the authority of that order, under  
 such a change of circumstances, so long after it had been remon-  
 strated against, and after a cartel had been settled, to restrain im-  
 proper severities, and to prevent the necessity of retaliation. You  
 will see by my letter to Lord Cornwallis of the 17th December  
 last, a copy of which is enclosed, that I informed his lordship,  
 his order was cruel and unprecedented; and that he might expect  
 retaliation from the friends of the unfortunate.—You observe,  
 that to authorise retaliation, there should be a parity of circum-  
 stances, to which I can by no means agree. Retaliation presup-  
 poses an act of violence having been committed, and that it is a-  
 dopted to punish the past and restrain the future; and therefore  
 whatever will produce these consequences is warranted by the laws  
 of retaliation.—You observe, that the inhabitants of any country  
 at war, owe allegiance to the conquering power. The right of  
 conquest from partial successes, is often made use of to levy con-  
 tributions; but I believe there are no instances, where the inha-  
 bitants are punished capitally, for breach of parole given under  
 these circumstances, especially where the two powers are con-  
 tending for empire; and this act of severity complained of, is the  
 more extraordinary as you long lost that part of the country, and  
 upon

upon your own principles the inhabitants owed allegiance to the conquering power.—The execution of Lieutenant Fulker was without my knowledge or consent: nor did I ever hear of it before. I understood there were some, who fell a sacrifice to the violence of the militia, for the many outrages they had been guilty of, and this without the knowledge of the commanding officer, who put a stop to it the moment he discovered it. But there is a great difference between deliberate executions, and deaths which happen from an enraged people, urged by a sense of injury and oppression.—I have never authorized or countenanced an execution but for the crime of desertion: on the contrary, I have taken all the pains in my power to soften the resentments of the inhabitants toward each other, and to prevent as much as possible the dreadful calamity of private murders. It has been my object to reclaim, not to destroy, even such of the inhabitants as have been opposed to the interests of their country; and I cannot but consider your remarks respecting Col. Grierson and Major Dunlap, as both illiberal and ungenerous, if you are acquainted with facts. If not, I hope you will be more careful how you censure without authority for the future. A handsome reward was offered for the detection of the murderers of both these persons. As you have referred the justification of your conduct in the affair of Col. Hayne to Lord Cornwallis, and as his determination upon that matter will govern the business of future exchanges, I can see no advantage in appointing a person to meet Captain Barry, on the subject; beside which, that gentleman is now a prisoner of war, and no longer in a capacity to negotiate affairs of this nature. I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant Nathaniel Greene.”—

But before the date of this letter, the following important military operation had taken place.

General Greene, on hearing that the British were returned to their former station on the south side of the Congaree, concerted measures for forcing them a second time from their posts in this quarter. Though the two armies were within fifteen miles of each other on a right line, yet as two rivers intervened, and boats could not be procured, the American army was obliged to take a circuit of 70 miles with a view of more conveniently crossing the Wateree and the Congaree. Soon after their crossing these rivers they were joined by General Pickens with a party of the Ninety Six militia, and by the state troops under Lieut. Col. Henderfon. Gen. Marion also joined them with his brigade of militia, on the 7th of September. The whole American force being thus collected, Greene proceeded the next morning to attack the British army under Lieut. Col. Stewart, who had retired from the Congaree about 40 miles, and taken post at the Eutaw Springs,



60 miles north of Charlestown. The Americans and British were nearly equal in number, about 2000: but new raised levies and militia formed the greater part of the first.\* Greene drew up his troops in two lines. The front consisted of the militia from North and South Carolina, and was commanded by Marion, Pickens and Col. de Malmédy. The second consisted of the continental troops from North Carolina, Virginia and Maryland, and were led on by Gen. Sumner, Lieut. Col. Campbell, and Col. O. Williams. Lee with his legion covered the right flank, and Henderson with the state troops, the left. Washington with his cavalry, and Captain Kirkwood with the Delaware troops, formed a corps de reserve. They marched at 4 o'clock in the morning, and fell in with two advanced parties of the British about four miles a-head of their main army: these being briskly charged by the legion and state troops, soon retired. The front line advanced and continued firing and advancing on the British till the action became general, when they in their turn were obliged to give way. They were well supported by General Sumner's North Carolina brigade of continentals, though they had been under discipline only for a few weeks, and were chiefly composed of militia men, who had been transferred to the continental service, to make reparation for their precipitate flight in former actions. In the hottest of the engagement, while great execution was doing on both sides, Williams and Campbell, with the Maryland and Virginia continentals, were ordered by Greene to charge with trailed arms. Nothing could surpass the intrepidity of both officers and men on this occasion. They pushed on in good order, thro' a heavy cannonade, and a shower of musketry, with such unshaken resolution, that they bore down all before them. Lee, with great address and good conduct, turned the left flank of the British, and attacked them at the same time in the rear. Henderson being wounded early in the action, the South Carolina state troops were led on by Lieut. Col. Hampton, the next in command, to a very spirited and successful charge, in which they took upward of 100 prisoners. The British were routed in all quarters. Washington brought up the corps de reserve on the left, and charged so briskly with his cavalry, and Kirkwood's infantry, as gave the enemy no time to rally or form. They were closely pursued.—On their retreat, numbers threw themselves into a strong brick house;

\* On August the 1st, the whole of the continentals did not amount to eight hundred. The field return on the 4th of September, was, total of regulars, rank and file one thousand two hundred and fifty-six: South Carolina state troops infantry seventy-three, and cavalry seventy-two; total of militia four hundred and fifty-seven, exclusive of Marion's, of which there was no return.

house: others took post in a picquetted garden and among impenetrable shrubs. The eagerness of the Americans urged them to attack the enemy in these positions. Washington made every possible exertion to dislodge them from the thickets, but failed, had his horse shot under him, was wounded and taken prisoner. Four six pounders, two of which had been abandoned by the enemy, were ordered up before the house, and pushed on so much under the command of the fire from thence and the thickets, that they could not be brought off again, when Greene, judging all further efforts improper, ordered the troops to retire.

The Americans collected all their wounded, except those under the command of the fire of the house, and retired to the ground from which they marched in the morning, there being no water nearer, and the troops ready to faint with the heat and want of refreshment, the action having continued near four hours; and been by far the hottest Greene ever saw, and the most bloody for the numbers engaged. He left a strong picquet on the field of battle.

In the evening of the next day, Lieut. Col. Stewart destroyed a great quantity of his stores, abandoned the Eutaw, and moved towards Charlestown, leaving upward of seventy of his wounded, and one thousand stand of arms. He was pursued for several miles, but without effect. Though Major M<sup>r</sup> Arthur joined him with a large reinforcement fourteen miles below the Eutaw, the action was not renewed. Indeed the loss of the British was heavy: five hundred were taken prisoners, including the wounded left behind them: they scarcely suffered less in killed, and the wounded whom they carried off. Several of their officers were paroled on the field of battle, two were killed, and sixteen wounded, as was the commander slightly in his left elbow.—The Americans had 114 rank and file killed, 300 wounded, and 40 missing, in all 454: officers killed and mortally wounded 21, beside a volunteer; wounded 38, and a volunteer; in all 61. Among the killed of these, Lieut. Col. Campbell of the Virginia line was the theme of universal lamentation. While with great firmness he was leading on his brigade to that charge which determined the fate of the day, he received a mortal wound. After his fall he inquired who gave way, and being informed the British were fleeing in all quarters, he added—"I die contented"—and immediately expired.

The success of the American army in the first part of the engagement, spread such an alarm, that the British burned their stores at Dorchester, and evacuated their posts near Monk's Corner. The gates of Charlestown were shut, and a number of ne-



groes employed in felling trees across the road on the neck. The number of Greene's force actually engaged was 1400 regulars and 500 militia, in all 1900: of these 547, including 72 subalterns and sergeants were killed or wounded. Such was the heat of the action, that the officers on each side fought hand to hand, and sword to sword. The British could not compel the continentals to give way, though the militia were obliged to retire. Greene however has a high opinion of the British and their valor, and says—"They fight a devilish hard battle, as every one who fights them will know." On October the 29th, Congress resolved to honor him with a British standard and a gold medal; and voted their thanks to the different corps and their commanders.

After the action, the Americans retired to their former position on the High Hills of Santee, and the British took post in the vicinity of Monk's Corner. While they lay there, a small party of American cavalry took upward of 80 prisoners within sight of their main army. They no more acted with their usual vigor. On the slightest appearance of danger, they discovered a disposition to flee, not much inferior to what was exhibited the year before by the American militia.

Such were the promising prospects prior to the battle at Eutaw, that John Rutledge, Esq. set out from Philadelphia on the 28th of June, to resume the reins of government in South Carolina. As soon as circumstances would admit after his arrival, in retaliation for Balfour's conduct in exiling such numbers from their homes, he ordered the brigadiers of militia to drive the families of all who adhered to the royal cause, within the British lines. The wives and children of those inhabitants who had retreated with the retreating British to avoid the resentments of their countrymen, were now compelled to take shelter within their posts. In exchange of their comfortable plantations in the country, many of them were reduced in a little time to the necessity of living in clay huts in the vicinity of Charlestown. In this forlorn situation, numbers speedily perished, being destitute of the comforts of life and overwhelmed with diseases.

While Gen. Greene's troops were on the High Hills of Santee, a dangerous spirit made its appearance among the Maryland soldiers. They were uneasy that some of the old officers had been sent away, and wished for an opportunity of seeing their friends at home. They sent several petitions to Greene, complained of want of clothing, and recapitulated their services. In one of them they mentioned, that out of seven regiments there were scarce two hundred remaining, and that they had never received any pay. They became discontented, left off their usual sports, talked seriously

ously in squads, and of their pay. All this did not pass unnoticed by the officers, who watched their conduct, and endeavoured to foist them, but ineffectually. On the evening of the 21st of October, numbers were seen to go privately out of camp with their arms, &c. The officers alarmed at the circumstance, ordered their corps to parade, and called over their rolls. Old soldiers manage dexterously among themselves. They had put spies upon their officers while they were making an experiment, and the moment they discovered that they were likely to be detected and apprehended for mutiny, they stole into camp as secretly as they went out: some of them were observed, but suffered to pass unnoticed. It is not always best to punish intended faults before actually committed. A luckless incident which happened to a Timothy Griffin of the only South Carolina company then in the army, set all this affair right. While the officers were calling their rolls, and admonishing some of the men for apparent irregularities, Timothy came on the parade drunk; and having heard what the soldiers had previously whispered among one another, and supposing the officers were altercationing with the men on that subject, very imprudently cried out—"Stand to it boys. D—n my blood, if I would give an inch"—and other words to the same effect. Capt. M'Pherson of the Maryland line knocked him down, knowing the evil tendency of such language. He was instantly sent to the provost; the next day tried by a general court martial for encouraging mutiny and desertion; was found guilty; sentenced to suffer death; and shot about five o'clock in the afternoon in presence of the whole army. Examples are never more necessary in an army than upon such dangerous occasions; and no example was ever more effectual. The general orders of Greene in consequence of this, represented the crime of the sufferer in such striking colours, as fully to justify the sentence of the court. Greene at the same time passed over the conduct of the Maryland troops (which was not public) in such a manner as to exonerate them from any participation of the crime. Speaking of unworthy characters he said—"One or two of artful dispositions are sufficient to betray hundreds of well disposed men into errors. But the general is happy to find, that the Maryland line has nobly withstood the secret machinations of such as have attempted to mislead them; nor can he believe that soldiers who have fought so bravely, and whose character is universally admired, will ever tarnish their glory by an improper conduct."

The gen. wrote on the 9th of November to Gen. Gould—"I should betray my trust, and fail in my duty, was I to be silent upon the barbarous custom which prevails in your army, of burning houses



houses and desolating the country. I am informed that a party under Col. Brown and Major Maxwell lately burnt all the buildings upon Hilton Head. The instances of burning which have taken place are no less savage than unnecessary, and cannot be justified by the general principles of modern war, nor by the particular circumstances that mark your military operations.—You have endeavored to persuade the world, that the body of the people are in your interest. The cartel was an appeal to them, and it is from your disappointment, that the inhabitants feel the cruel strokes of pointed resentments.—I have made it my study to conduct the war upon the most humane principles, and it is my wish to continue it so; but if your people continue in the practice of burning, I will change that plan, and let savage cruelty rage in all the horrors of war.—It is painful to contemplate the miseries incident to giving no quarter; but shocking as it may be to humanity, we had better expose ourselves to this evil, where our enemies will feel it in common with us, than to suffer them to inflict a punishment, little less severe, from which they are secure.—I wish you, Sir, to consider this matter seasonably, and put a stop to the evil we complain of, and not drive us to the disagreeable necessity of adopting measures, no less repugnant to our feelings than our wishes.”

The American army was too weak needlessly to risk another general action; but it was necessary to move into the lower country, to cover the collection of provisions for subsistence through the winter; and to improve any accidental opportunities. Greene therefore quitted the High Hills on the 18th of November.—Three days after, he wrote to Gen. Washington—“I wish something decisive may be done respecting Col. Hayne. I wish your excellency’s order and the order of Congress thereon; the latter have signified their approbation of the measures I took. But as retaliation did not take place immediately, (nor did I think myself at liberty on a matter of such magnitude, but from the most pressing necessity) and as the enemy did not repeat the offence, I have been at a loss how to act, with respect to the original, not having any officer of equal rank with Col. Hayne in my possession. I am ready to execute whatever may be thought advisable.” On the 27th he left Col. O. Williams to command the main army, and marched with all the cavalry, 200, and a detachment of 200 infantry, toward Dorchester, through private roads. On the 29th he went to reconnoitre the British works at that place, which induced the enemy’s cavalry to sally forth. A rencontre ensued, 8 or 10 men were killed or wounded, and a subaltern and four or five men of the South Carolina state troops were taken prisoners.

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The general made such appearances of a serious attack, that the garrison consisting of about 150 horse, 500 regular infantry, and about 200 royalists, abandoned their works the night following, and retreated to the Quarter-house on Charlestown neck. By this mean all the rice between Edesto and Ashley rivers was saved to the Americans. The manœuvre induced O. Williams to write to Greene on December the 4th—"Your success at Dorchester would make your enemies hate themselves, if all circumstances were generally known; and the same knowledge would make your friends admire the adventure even more than they do. I am very happy that you have obtained your wish, without risking a general action, and I hope you will be able to keep what you have gotten, till the reinforcement under General St. Clair will enable you to take more." The main army continued marching under Williams till it arrived at Round O on the 7th, where it encamped, and was joined by Greene two days after.

We shall close the operations in South Carolina with the following narration.

Early in the year Greene concluded a treaty with the Cherokee Indians, by which they engaged to observe a strict neutrality. This was attended with the beneficial effects of saving the frontier settlements of both the Carolinas from their incursions, while the inhabitants were left at full liberty to concentrate their force against the army under Lord Cornwallis. When the co-operation of the Indians could be of the least service to the British forces, they were induced to break their engagement. They, with a number of disguised whitemen, calling themselves the king's friends, made an incursion into the district of Ninety Six, massacred some families, and burned several houses. General Pickens collected a party of the American militia, and penetrated into the settlements of the Cherokees. This he accomplished in fourteen days, at the head of 394 horsemen. In that short space he burned 13 towns and villages, killed upward of 40 Indians and took a greater number prisoners. Not one of his party was killed, and only two were wounded. None of the expeditions against the Cherokees had been so rapid and decisive as the present.—Pickens did not expend three pounds of ammunition, and yet only three Indians escaped, after having been once seen. On this occasion a new and successful mode of fighting the Indians was introduced. Instead of firing, the American militia rushed forward on horseback, and charged with drawn swords. This was the second time since the commencement of the American war, that the Cherokees were chastised in their own settlements, in consequence of their suffering themselves to be excited by British emissaries.



missaries to commence hostilities against their white neighbours. They again sued for peace, in the most submissive terms, and obtained it after promising, that instead of listening to the advice of the royalists instigating them to war, they would deliver to the authority of the state, all who visited their settlements on that errand.

The return of Gen. Arnold to New York from Virginia, did not fix him in a state of inactivity. He was sent on an interprise against New London, with a sufficient land and marine force.—The embarkation having passed over from Long Island shore in the night, the troops were landed in two detachments on each side of the harbour, at ten o'clock in the morning of the 6th of September; that on the Groton side being commanded by Lieut. Col. Eyre, and that on New London side by the general, who met no great trouble. Fort Trumbull and the redoubt, which were intended to cover the harbour and town, not being tenable, were evacuated as he approached, and the few men in them crossed the river to Fort Griswold on Groton Hill. Arnold proceeded to the town, without being otherwise opposed than by the scattered fire of small parties that had hastily collected. Orders were sent by the general to Eyre for attacking Fort Griswold, that so the possession of it might prevent the escape of the American shipping. The militia, to the amount of 157, collected for its defence, but so hastily as not to be fully furnished with fire arms and other weapons. As the assailants approached, a firing commenced, and the flag staff was soon shot down, from whence the neighbouring spectators inferred, that the place had surrendered, till the continuance of the firing convinced them to the contrary. The garrison defended themselves with the greatest resolution and bravery: Eyre was wounded near the works, and Major Montgomery killed immediately after, so that the command devolved on Major Bromfield. The British at one time staggered; but the fort being out of repair, could not be maintained by a handful of men against so superior a number as that which assaulted it. After an action of about 40 minutes, the resolution of the royal troops carried the place by the point of the bayonet. The Americans had not more than half a dozen killed, before the enemy entered the fort; when a severe execution took place though resistance ceased. The British officer inquired on his entering, who commanded; Col. Ledyard answered—"I did, Sir, but you do now;" and presented him his sword. The colonel was immediately run through and killed. The slain were 73, the wounded between 30 and 40, and about 40 were carried off prisoners. Soon after reducing the fort, the soldiers loaded a waggon with

the wounded, as said, by order of their officers, and set the waggon off from the top of the hill, which is long and very steep: the waggon went a considerable distance with great force, till it was suddenly stoppt by an apple tree, which gave the faint and bleeding men so terrible a shock, that part of them died instantly. About 15 vessels with effects of the inhabitants retreated up the river, notwithstanding the reduction of the fort; and four others remained in the harbour unhurt: a number were burnt by the fire communicating from the stores when in flames. Sixty dwelling houses and 84 stores were burned, including those on both sides the harbour and in New London. The burning of the town was intentional, and not accidental. The loss that the Americans sustained in this destruction was very great; for there were large quantities of naval stores, of European goods, of East and West India commodities, and of provisions in the several stores. The British had two commissioned officers and 46 privates killed; eight officers (some of whom are since dead) with 135 non-commissioned and privates wounded.

We now proceed to the relation of more capital and decisive operations.

The destination of Count de Grasse to a co-operation with the Americans was known by the British ministry time enough for sending orders to Sir George Rodney to counteract him. The count in prosecuting the fixed resolve of the French court to give effectual assistance to the United States, sailed with his whole fleet and a large convoy from Martinico on the 5th of July, and arrived at Cape Francois by the middle of the month, where he was reinforced by five ships of the line. In the beginning of August he sailed from the Cape with a prodigious convoy, which having been out of danger, beside touching at the Havannah for money, he directed his course for the Chesapeak with 28 sail of the line and several frigates. Admiral Rodney, designing to return to Great Britain, concluded upon sending Sir Samuel Hood with only 14 sail of the line, some frigates, and a fire ship, to the Chesapeak; and forwarded dispatches to New York, to acquaint the British commanders with de Grasse's motions and Hood's destination, which however were not received in time. Sir Henry Clinton discovered by intercepted letters, that Rochambeau had marched with the French troops from Rhode Island; that their battering train and stores for a new siege were left at Providence under little more than a militia guard; and that their fleet remained in Rhode Island. He upon that planned an expedition against them, and proposed it to Adm. Graves. Graves however sailed on a cruise before Bolton. When he returned on the 16th of August, the propo-

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sal was renewed : but it was now become necessary to refit one of his ships, and to repair others, so that his fleet could not be ready in season. Mr. de Barras sailed with the train and stores from Rhode Island on the 25th ; concluding from de Grasse's own dispatches, that he must be then at the Chesapeak. De Barras was at liberty to have undertaken any other service : but though he was an older officer than de Grasse, he voluntarily chose to put himself under his command, to ensure an object, the attainment of which was of such immense consequence to the allied arms of France and America. On the day of his sailing, Sir Samuel Hood arrived off the Chesapeak, where he expected to have met Graves with the Squadron from New York ; but being disappointed, he sent a frigate to that commander with the news of his arrival. Had they formed a junction at this period and place, they might have secured the Chesapeak, and have prevented de Grasse's entering it a few days after. Sir Samuel having examined the bay, proceeded to the capes of Delaware, and not seeing or hearing any thing of de Grasse, made the best of his way to Sandy Hook, where he arrived on the 28th. On that day, the commanders at New York received intelligence, that Barras had sailed three days before to the southward. Notwithstanding the hope of intercepting his squadron before it could join de Grasse, must have been a new incentive for exertions ; it was three days before Graves could be in readiness to proceed from New York with five ships of the line and a fifty gun ship to the Hook, and from thence with the whole fleet under his command to the southward. The day before he sailed, de Grasse arrived in the Chesapeak. On his passage the count fell in with and took a packet from Charlestown, having on board Lord Rawdon, who was on his return to Great Britain.

The French admiral after blocking up York river, took possession of James's in order to cover the boats of the fleet, which were to convoy the Marquis de St. Simon, with 3300 land forces from the West Indies, eighteen leagues up the river, to form a junction with Fayette. Graves received no intelligence of the French fleet (nor they of his approach) till they were discovered early in the morning of September the 5th, lying at anchor, to the number of 24 sail of the line, just within Cape Henry, and consequently the mouth of the Chesapeak. The French immediately slipped their cables, and turning out from the anchorage ground, Grasse threw out a signal for the ships severally to form the line as they could come up, without regarding particular stations. The British fleet amounted to nineteen ships of the line, and one or more of 50 guns. Through various delays the  
action

action did not commence till four o'clock, and then was partial only the van and a part of the British centre being able to come near enough to engage with effect. De Grasse did not aim so much at a close engagement, as at keeping possession of the Chesapeake, and saving his ships for that and all its correspondent purposes. The absence of 1800 of his seamen, and 90 officers, employed in conveying Simons's troops up James river, confirmed him in his avoidance of a hazardous action. Drake with the rear division, in consequence of the last tack, becoming the van of the British fleet, treated the French van so roughly, that they bore away, while de Grasse with the centre edged up in order to cover their retreat. The weight of the action fell principally upon the British van, the centre coming in for a more moderate share, and seven sail never being able to get within a proper gun-shot distance of the French: from these circumstances Drake's division suffered severely. The engagement ended about sun-set. The slain on board the British amounted to 90, and the wounded to 230. The *Shrewsbury* and *Intrepid* bore more than a proportionable share of this loss. Capt. Robinson of the former lost a leg, and Capt. Molloy of the latter gained great honor, by the gallantry with which he succoured and covered the *Shrewsbury*, when overborne and surrounded by the French. According to the French accounts, no more than 15 ships on each side were engaged. Admiral Graves used all measures to keep up the line during the night, with the design of renewing the action in the morning.— But he discovered that several ships of the van, and the *Montague* of the centre, had suffered so much in their masts, that they were in no condition for renewing the action, till the same were secured. The *Terrible* was so leaky as to keep all her pumps going, and the *Ajax* was in little better condition. The hostile fleets continued for five successive days, partly repairing their damages, and partly manœuvring in sight of each other; and at times were very near. The British were so mutilated, that they had not speed enough to attack the French; and these showed no inclination to renew the action, though they had it often in their power, as they generally maintained the wind of Graves. De Grasse fearing lest by some favorable change of it, the British should get before him to the Chesapeake, returned thither on the 10th, of September. The *Richmond* and *Iris*, of 32 guns each, which had been sent to cut away the buoys of the French anchors, fell into his hands. His putting to sea, and continuing there after fighting the British, was probably the saving of de Barras; for during de Grasse's absence,\* the other arrived in the bay with eight French line of battle

\* See Count de Grasse's letter to the Chevalier de Luzerne, Sept. 13, and the Baltimore News-paper of Sept. 18, 1781.



battle ships, beside frigates, transports and victuallers, bringing with him the artillery and stores indispensibly necessary for the siege of York Town. The American officers were in great pain about him, when they heard of Graves's having put to sea, lest he should fall in with the latter, be over-powered, and thereby all their hopes of capturing Lord Cornwallis be disappointed. De Barras had taken a wide circuitous course to avoid being intercepted; but that very precaution might have proved his ruin, had not de Grasse left the Chesapeak on the 5th, and engaged and manœuvred with Graves. In the mean time, a fresh gale and a head sea so increased the damage and danger of the *Terrible*, that it was found necessary to evacuate and then burn her. This was done on the 11th, and about nine at night, Graves bore up for the Chesapeak; but upon information being brought him, that the French fleet were all anchored within the Cape, so as to block the passage, it was determined by a council of war, to return to New York, where the fleet arrived the 20th of September.

One great object of the British force in Virginia was the establishment of a strong post and place of arms, which by embracing some good harbour, or commanding one of the great navigable rivers, should equally facilitate future hostile operations whether by sea or land; and which, beside giving an opportunity for distressing the country, if the reduction of it could not be effected, should afford such a station for the British fleets and cruisers, as would render them entirely masters of Chesapeak bay. But the utility of such a post was necessarily founded on the confidence of a constant naval superiority, as well as of its being defensible by a moderate force on the land side. Upon a personal examination of Portsmouth, Lord Cornwallis discovered it to be totally incompetent to the purpose of the intended post.—Point Comfort was thought to be no less defective. York Town lying on the river of that name, and on the narrowest part of the peninsula between York and James rivers, where it is about five miles over; and Gloucester Point on the north and opposite side, and projecting so far into the river, that the distance between both is not much above a mile, afforded the only remaining choice. They entirely commanded the navigation of the river, which is so deep at this place, as to admit of ships of great size and burden: but then they required the whole force that Cornwallis possessed to render them effective. His lordship gave the preference to them; and repaired with his army in August to the peninsula. He applied himself with the utmost diligence to fortify these posts, and to render them equally respectable by land

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and water. His whole force amounted to about 7000 excellent troops. Before his lordship had fixed himself and army in their posts, a series of manœuvres had taken place between him and the Marquis de la Fayette; in which the British general displayed the boldness of enterprise, and the marquis the judgment of age, blended with the ardor of youth. Fayette, under various pretences, sent the Pennsylvania troops to the south side of James river; collected a force in Gloucester county; and made sundry excellent arrangements, which he early communicated to de Grasse by an officer.

The French and American armies continued their march from the northward, till they arrived at the Head of Elk: within an hour after, they received an express from Count de Grasse, with the joyful account of his arrival and situation. This circumstance will appear the more remarkable, when we consider the original distance of the parties, as well from the scene of action as from each other, and the various accidents, difficulties and delays, to which they were all liable. The greatest harmony subsisted between Washington and Rochambeau, which lessened some of the difficulties attending their joint operations. The former being without a sufficiency of money to supply his troops, applied to the count for a loan, which was instantly granted. In order to hasten the arrival of the allied troops, de Grasse selected seven vessels, drawing the least water, to transport them down Chesapeake Bay. But the moment they were ready to sail on this service, the count was obliged to prepare for repelling the British fleet. When Mr. de Barras arrived, he sent up those transports he brought with him for the troops: de Grasse after that added to them as many frigates as he could.\* By the 25th of September all the troops were arrived and landed at Williamsburgh, and preparations were made with all possible dispatch for putting the army in a situation to move down toward York Town. Gen. Washington and Count de Rochambeau, with their suites and other officers, had reached Williamsburgh by hard travelling, on the 14th, eleven days sooner. Here the general found a vessel waiting to convey him to the Capes of Virginia, sent by Count de Grasse, as he could not with propriety leave his fleet. The commander in chief and the Count de Rochambeau, accompanied by generals Chastellux, Du Portail and Knox, immediately proceeded to visit the count on board the *Ville de Paris*. A council was held, and de Grasse detailed his engagements to be in the West Indies at the latter end of October or beginning of November.

\* Count de Grasse's letter of September 13, 1781.



November. But he finally agreed to continue in the Chesapeake until the operation against Lord Cornwallis should be decided. After which the company returned.

All the Americans and French troops formed a junction at Williamsburgh. The Marquis de la Fayette had been joined by 3000 under St. Simon some days before the 25th of September. The whole regular force thus collected amounted to between 11 and 12,000 men. The militia of Virginia were also called out to service, and were commanded by Gov. Nelson. On the 27th Washington gave out in general orders—"If the enemy would be tempted to meet the army on its march, the general particularly enjoins the troops to place their principal reliance on the bayonet, that they may prove the *vanity of the boast which the British make of their peculiar prowess in deciding battles with that weapon.*" The next morning the army marched, and halted about two miles from York Town just before sun set. The officers and soldiers were ordered to lie on their arms the whole night. On the 30th, Col. Scammell (being officer of the day) in approaching the enemy's outer works, to see if they had really left them, was mortally wounded and taken prisoner by a party of the enemy's horse, which lay secreted. This day Lord Cornwallis was closely invested in York Town. The French extended from the river above the town to a morass in the centre, where they were met by the Americans, who occupied the opposite side from the river to that spot. The post at Gloucester Point was, at the same time, invested by the Duke de Lauzun with his legion, and a number of Virginia militia under Gen. Weedon.

Before the troops left Williamsburgh, Washington received a letter from de Grasse, informing him, that in case of the appearance of a British fleet, the count conceived it to be his duty to go out and meet them at sea, instead of fighting in a confined situation. This information exceedingly alarmed the general, who instantly saw the probability of the British fleet's manœuvring in such manner, as to reinforce or withdraw Lord Cornwallis. To prevent a measure pregnant with so much evil, his excellency wrote to the count on the 26th—"I am unable to describe the painful anxiety under which I have labored since the reception of your letter of the 23d instant. It obliges me warmly to urge a perseverance in the plan agreed upon. The attempt upon York, under the protection of your shipping, is as certain of success as a superior force and a superiority of measures can render any military operation. The capture of the British army is a matter so important in itself and in its consequences, that it must greatly tend to bring an end to the war.—If your excellency quits the

Bay, an access is open to relieve York, of which the enemy will instantly avail themselves. The consequence of this will be, not only the disgrace, but the probable disbanding of the whole army for the present seat of war being such, as absolutely precludes the use of waggons, from the great number of large rivers which intersect the country, there will be a total want of provisions. The province has been so exhausted, that subsistence must be drawn from a distance, and that can only be done by a superior fleet in the Bay. I earnestly beg your excellency to consider, that if by moving your fleet from the situation agreed upon, we lose the present opportunity, we shall never hereafter have it in our power to strike so decisive a stroke, and the period of an honorable peace will be further distant than ever. Supposing the force, said to have arrived under Adm. Digby, to be true, their whole force united cannot be such as to give them any hope of success in the attacking your fleet.—I am to press your excellency to persevere in the scheme so happily concerted between us. Permit me to add, that the absence of your fleet from the Bay may frustrate our design upon the garrison at York. For, in the present situation Lord Cornwallis might evacuate the place with the loss of his artillery, baggage, and a few men—sacrifices, which would be highly justifiable, from the desire of saving the body of the army.—The Marquis de la Fayette carries this. He is not to pass the Cape for fear of accident, in case you should be at sea.” This letter, with the marquis’s persuasions, had the desired effect; and the same hour when the combined army appeared before York Town, the French fleet was brought to the mouth of York river, and by their position effectually covered all subsequent military operations, and prevented either the retreat or succour of Lord Cornwallis’s army by water. The posts of York and Gloucester were the most favorable of any in the country for besieging the British, and preventing their escape, when the siege was supported by a superior land and naval force.

Lord Cornwallis was sufficiently strong for fighting the Marquis de la Fayette, even after he had been joined by St. Simon; and is thought to have been mistaken in not engaging them either separately or together. The moment he heard that the allied troops were at the Head of Elk, and that de Grasse was arrived with so powerful a fleet at the Chesapeake, his lordship should have pushed off for Charlestown. Therefore it was that Gen. Greene wrote to Baron Steuben on the 17th—“Nothing can save Cornwallis but a rapid retreat through North Carolina to Charlestown.” His lordship’s conduct was influenced by an expectation of a reinforcement from Sir Henry Clinton, and a full persuasion that those

exertions



ertions would be made at New York, and such a naval strength could arrive from thence in time, as would effectually relieve him. His may be gathered from his writing on the 16th—"If I had hopes of relief, I would rather risk an action than defend my unfinished works. But as you say, Adm. Digby is hourly expected, and have promised exertions to assist me, I do not think myself justifiable in putting the fate of the war upon so desperate an attempt." He must have meant that of fighting Fayette and St. Ives, for the troops of Washington and Rochambeau did not move till afterward. Fayette had taken a strong position: but the attempt would not have appeared so desperate to his lordship, had he known the real number of the enemy.

The trenches were opened by the combined armies on the 6th of October, at 600 yards distance from Cornwallis's works. The night being dark and rainy was well adapted to the service, in which there was not a man hurt. In the afternoon of the 9th, the redoubts and batteries being completed, a general discharge of 12 and 18 pounders and of 10 inch mortars commenced by the Americans on the right, and continued all night without intermission. The next morning, the French opened their batteries on the left, and a tremendous roar of cannon and mortars was continued for six or eight hours without ceasing. There was an incessant fire through the succeeding night. By one of the French shells, the *Charon* of 44 guns and a transport ship were set on fire and burnt. The following morning, [11th] the enemy's other guard ship was fired by one of the American shells and consumed. At daylight, the besiegers opened their second parallel, 200 yards from the works of the besieged. The Americans had 3 men killed and 1 wounded by a French cannon, which fired too low. On the 14th in the evening, an American battalion was ordered into the second parallel, and to begin a large battery in advance on the right. A few minutes before they began to break ground, the enemy kept a constant fire upon them: one of their shells fell first in the centre of the battalion, and killed a captain and one private, and wounded a second. The fire of the besieged was very great through the night; and it was thought that the besiegers lost as many men within 24 hours at this period, as they had in nearly the whole siege before.

Two redoubts, which were advanced about 200 yards on the left of the British, greatly impeded the progress of the combined armies. An attack on these was therefore proposed.—To excite the spirit of emulation the reduction of the one was committed to the French, of the other to the Americans. The light infantry of the latter were commanded by the Marquis de la Fayette; and

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the service was allotted to a select corps. The marquis said to Gen. Washington—"The troops should retaliate on the British for the cruelties they have practised." The general answered—"You have full command, and may order as you please." The marquis ordered the party to remember New London, and to retaliate, by putting the men in the redoubt to the sword after having carried it. The men marched to the assault with unloaded arms, at dark on the night of the 14th, passed the abatis and palisades, and attacking on all sides carried the redoubt in a few minutes, with the loss of 8 killed and 28 wounded.\* Lieut. Col. Laurens personally took the commanding officer. The colonel's humanity and that of the Americans so overcame their resentments, that they spared the British. When bringing them off as prisoners, they said among themselves—"Why! how is this? We were ordered to put them to death." Being asked by others why they had not done it, they answered—"We could not, when they begged and cried so upon their knees for their lives." About five of the enemy were killed, and 1 major, 1 captain, 1 ensign, and 20 privates captured. Col. Hamilton, who conducted the enterprise with much address and intrepidity, in his report to the marquis, mentioned, to the honor of his detachment—"that, incapable of imitating examples of barbarity, and forgetting recent provocations, they spared every man that ceased to resist." The French were equally successful on their side. They carried the redoubt committed to them with rapidity, but lost a considerable number of men. These two works being taken into the second parallel facilitated the subsequent operations.

The British were so weakened by the fire of the combined armies, but chiefly by sickness, that Lord Cornwallis could not venture any considerable number in the making of sallies. The present emergency however was such, that a little before day break of the morning of the 16th he ordered a sortie of about 400 men, under Lieut. Col. Abercromby, to attack two batteries which appeared to be in the greatest forwardness, and to spike the guns. Two detachments were appointed to the service; and both attacks were made with such impetuosity, that the redoubts which covered the batteries, were forced, and eleven pieces of cannon spiked. The French troops, who had the guard of that part of the intrenchment, suffered considerably. This successful action did honor to the officers and troops engaged, but produced

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\* Major Gibbs, the commander of the men that formed the guards for Washington's person, received a small contusion in his leg by a grape shot. His manuscripts of the transactions before, at and after the siege, are often used in this narrative.



no essential benefit. The cannon, being hastily spiked, were soon rendered again serviceable; and the combined forces were so industrious, that they finished their batteries, opened them about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and fired briskly. Their several batteries were now covered with near 100 pieces of heavy ordnance; and the British works were so destroyed, that they could scarcely show a single gun.

Thus was Lord Cornwallis reduced to the necessity of preparing for a surrender, or of attempting an escape. He determined upon the latter. Boats were prepared under different pretexts, for the reception of the troops by ten at night, in order to pass them over to Gloucester Point. The arrangements were made with the utmost secrecy. The intention was to abandon the baggage, and to leave a detachment behind to capitulate for the towns people, and for the sick and wounded, his lordship having already prepared a letter on the subject, to be delivered to Gen. Washington after his departure. The first embarkation had arrived at Gloucester Point, and the greater part of the troops were already landed, when the weather, which was before moderate and calm, instantly changed to a most violent storm of wind and rain. The boats with the remaining troops were all driven down the river, and the design of passing was not only entirely frustrated, but the absence of the boats rendered it impossible to bring back the troops from Gloucester. Thus weakened and divided, the army was in the most imminent danger. The boats however returned: and the troops were brought back without much loss in the course of the forenoon.

Matters were now hastening to a crisis, which could not be longer averted. The British works were sinking under the weight of the American and French artillery. The continuance of the allied fire, only for a few more hours, would reduce them to such a condition that it would be rashness to attempt their defence.—The time for expecting relief from New York was elapsed. The strength and spirits of the royal troops were worn down by constant watching, and unremitting fatigue. Lord Cornwallis therefore sent out a flag at ten o'clock in the morning of the 17th with a letter to General Washington, requesting a cessation of arms for twenty-four hours, and that commissioners might be appointed for digesting the terms of capitulation. An answer was given; and a reply forwarded in the afternoon; to which Gen. Washington rejoined the next day, declaring the general basis on which the capitulation might take place. Commissioners were appointed—on the side of the allies Viscount de Noaille, and Lieut. Col. Laurens, whose father was in close confinement

finement at the tower, while the son was drawing up articles by which an English nobleman and a British army became prisoners. While settling the terms, the viscount wished his lordship to state, upon his honor, the value of the military chest. His lordship declared it to be about 1800*l.* sterling. The viscount observed that the sum was so trifling, that it was not worth bringing into the account, and therefore was for leaving it entirely at Cornwallis's disposal. Laurens interfered, and observed to his colleague, that though it was natural for a subject of one of the greatest monarchs in the world to think 1800*l.* an inconsiderable sum, yet, for his part, being a subject of an infant state, struggling with infinite inconveniencies, and where money was very rare, he must deem it a very considerable sum; and therefore he insisted that it should be accounted for. This was accordingly done; and afterward it was paid into the hands of Timothy Pickering, Esq; the American quarter master general, to the amount of 2113*l.* 6*s.* sterling, estimating the dollar at 4*s.* 8*d.*—There being a manifest impropriety in the Americans stipulating for the return of the negroes, while they themselves were avowedly fighting for their own liberties, they covered their intention of repossessing them, under these general terms with which the fourth article closed—"It is understood, that any property obviously belonging to the inhabitants of these states, in the possession of the garrison, shall be subject to be reclaimed."

The posts of York and Gloucester were surrendered on the 19th. The honor of marching out with colours flying, which had been denied to Gen. Lincoln, was now refused to Lord Cornwallis; and Lincoln was appointed to receive the submission of the royal army at York town, precisely in the same way his own had been conducted about 18 months before. The troops of every kind that surrendered prisoners of war, exceeded 7000 men; but such was the number of sick and wounded, that there were only 3800 capable of bearing arms. The officers and soldiers retained their baggage and effects. Fifteen hundred seamen parted of the fate of the garrison. The *Guadaloupe* frigate of 24 guns, and a number of transports were surrendered to the conquerors: about 20 transports had been sunk or burnt during the siege. The land forces became prisoners to Congress; but the seamen and ships were assigned to the French admiral. The Americans obtained a numerous artillery, 75 brass ordnance and 69 iron, cannon, howitzers and mortars.

Lord Cornwallis endeavored to obtain permission for the British and German troops to return to their respective countries, under engagements not to serve against France or America; and also



also an indemnity for those inhabitants who had joined him; but he was obliged to consent, that the former should be retained in the governments of Virginia, Pennsylvania and Maryland; and that the latter, whose case lay with the civil authority of the states, should be given up to the unconditional mercy of their countrymen. His lordship however obtained permission for the Bonetta sloop of war to pass unexamined, which gave an opportunity of screening those of the royalists who were most obnoxious to the resentments of the Americans. He took care also to have it stipulated, that no article of the capitulation should be infringed on pretext of reprisal. His lordship, with all civil and military officers, except those of the latter who were necessarily left behind for the protection and government of the soldiers, were at liberty to go upon parole, either to Great Britain or New York. He acknowledged in his public letter, that the treatment which he and the army had received after the surrender, was perfectly good and proper. His lordship spake in these warm terms of the kindness and attention shown to them, by the French officers in particular—"Their deliberate sensibility of our situation, their generous and pressing offers of money, both public and private, to any amount, has really gone beyond what I can possibly describe."

On the 20th of October, the American commander in chief, congratulated in general orders the army on the glorious event of the preceding day; and tendered to the generals, officers and privates, his thanks in the warmest language. He with gratitude returned his sincere acknowledgments to Gov. Nelson of Virginia, for the succours received from him and the militia under him. To spread the general joy in all hearts, he commanded that those of the army, who were under arrest, should be pardoned and set at liberty. The orders closed with—"Divine service shall be performed tomorrow in the different brigades and divisions. The commander in chief recommends, that all the troops that are not upon duty, do assist at it with a serious deportment, and that sensibility of heart which the recollection of the surprising and particular interposition of Providence in our favor claims."

The British fleet and army destined for the relief of Lord Cornwallis, arrived off the Chesapeake on the 24th; but on receiving authentic accounts of his surrender, they returned to New York. A few days after their first return, the fleet was increased by four ships of the line: but such was the superiority of the French by de Barras's junction with de Grasse, that nothing short of desperate circumstances could justify attempting a fresh engagement. These circumstances however existing, the British  
naval

naval commanders used all possible expedition in refitting the ships, with the design of extricating Cornwallis and his army. The delay occasioned by this business seemed to be compensated by the arrival of the Prince William and Torbay men of war from Jamaica. It was determined that every exertion should be used both by the fleet and army, to form a junction with the British force in Virginia. Sir Henry Clinton embarked with about 7000 of his best forces. It was nevertheless the 19th of October before the fleet could fall down to the Hook. They amounted to 25 ships of the line, 2 fifties, and 8 frigates. When they appeared off the Chesapeake, the French made no manner of movement, though they had 36 ships of the line, being satisfied with their present success. The main error, which paved the way to the capture of the British army, appears to be the omission of sending a larger force from the West Indies than that which was dispatched under Sir Samuel Hood. A few more ships in the first instance might have prevented that most woful disappointment, with which both Sir Henry Clinton and Lord Cornwallis have been painfully exercised.

Every argument and persuasion was used with the Count de Grasse to induce him to aid the combined army in an operation against Charlestown; but the advanced season, the orders of his court, and his own engagements to be punctual to a certain time fixed for his ulterior operations, prevented his compliance. His instructions had fixed his departure even to the 15th of October; he however nearly engaged to stay longer. Could he have extended his co-operation two months more, there would most probably have been a total extirpation of the British force in the Carolinas and Georgia. On the 27th, the troops under the Marquis St. Simon began to embark for the West Indies; and about the 5th of November de Grasse sailed from the Chesapeake.

The Marquis de la Fayette being about to leave America, the following expressions made a part of the orders issued by him previous to his departure from York Town—"Orders for the first brigade of light infantry, issued by Major General the Marquis de la Fayette, Oct. 31, 1781. In the moment the Major General leaves this place, he wishes once more to express his gratitude to the brave corps of light infantry, who for nine months past have been the companions of his fortunes. He will never forget, that with them alone of regular troops, he had the good fortune to manœuvre before an army, which after all its reductions, is still six times superior to the regular force he had at that time." Four days after, this brigade embarked for the Head of Elk; the invalids of the American troops destined for the northward



ward having previously done it. The New Jersey and part of the New York lines marched by land, and were to join the troops which went by water, at the Head of Elk. Such cavalry as were wanted by General Greene marched several days before; and on the 5th of November a reinforcement marched under Gen. St. Clair, in order to strengthen him for further offensive operations in South Carolina. The season of the year was unfavorable for the return of the troops to the North river, so that they suffered much in doing it. But they and their comrades had been blessed with a series of the most delightful weather from the beginning of their march toward York Town, until the reduction of the place.

No sooner had Congress received and read General Washington's letter, giving information of the reduction of the British army, than they resolved, on the 24th of October, that they would at two o'clock go in procession to the Dutch Lutheran church, and return thanks to Almighty God, for crowning the allied arms of the United States and France, with success by the surrender of the whole British army under the command of Earl Cornwallis. This army had spread waste and ruin over the face of Virginia for 400 miles on the sea-coast, and for 200 to the westward. Their numbers enabled them to go where they pleased; and their rage for plunder disposed them to take whatever they esteemed most valuable. The reduction of such an army occasioned transports of joy in the breast of every American. But that joy was increased and maintained, by the further consideration of the influence it would have in procuring such a peace as was desired. Two days after, the Congress issued a proclamation for religiously observing throughout the United States, the 13th of December, as a day of thanksgiving and prayer. On the 29th of October, they resolved, that thanks should be presented to Gen. Washington, Count de Rochambeau, Count de Grasse, and the officers of the different corps, and the men under their command, for their services in the reduction of Lord Cornwallis.— They also resolved to erect in York Town a marble column, adorned with emblems of the alliance between the United States and his Most Christian Majesty; and inscribed with a succinct narrative of the surrender of the British army. Two stands of colours taken from the royal troops, under the capitulation, were presented to Gen. Washington in the name of the United States in Congress assembled; and two pieces of field ordnance so taken, were by a resolve of Congress, to be presented by Gen. Washington to Count de Rochambeau, with a short memorandum engraved thereon, "that Congress were induced to present them

from considerations of the illustrious part which he bore in effectuating the surrender." It was further resolved to request the Chevalier de la Luzerne, to inform his Most Christian Majesty that it was the wish of Congress, that Count de Grasse might be permitted to accept a testimony of their approbation, similar to that which was to be presented to Count de Rochambeau. Legislative bodies, executive councils, city corporations, and many private societies, presented congratulatory addresses to Gen. Washington, accompanied with the warmest acknowledgments to Count de Rochambeau, Count de Grasse and the other officers in the service of his Most Christian Majesty. Places of public worship resounded with grateful praises to the Lord of Hosts, the God of battles, before, at, and after the appointed day of thanksgiving.—The singularly interesting event of captivating a second royal army, produced such strong emotions in numbers, both of ministers and people, that they could not wait the arrival of the day.

The British projected an attack on the northern frontiers of New York state. Major Ross advanced from the westward as far as Johnstown, with a body of 600, regulars, rangers, and Indians. Col. Willet gaining intelligence of them, marched with between 4 and 500 levies and militia, and attacked them on the 25th of October. They were defeated and pursued into the wilderness. On the 28th the colonel furnished the choicest of the troops with five days provision, and 60 Oneida Indians were attached to them. The pursuit was recommenced; and by the 30th in the morning, the Americans fell in with the enemy; but when too fatigued to continue the chase, left it to the Oneida Indians, who at length got up with Major Butler, just as he and several of his men had forded a bad creek. The Oneidas fired, and with their rifles killed some and wounded Butler. They then crossed over to him. On his asking quarter, they answered *Cherry Valley quarter* (alluding to his having denied it there when asked, in November 1778) and dispatched him though the request was renewed.

The following acts and concerns of Congress deserve to be noticed. On the 30th of October, they elected Major Gen. Lincoln secretary of war. The next Sunday [Nov. 4.] they attended at the Roman catholic chapel with the Chevalier de la Luzerne, and many other gentlemen of distinction, and heard Mons. de Bandole, chaplain to the French embassy, deliver the following discourse—"Gentlemen, a numerous people assembled to render thanks to the Almighty for his mercies, is one of the most affecting objects, and worthy the attention of the Supreme Being.—While camps resound with triumphal actions, while nations rejoice



vice in victory and glory, the most honorable office a minister of  
 the altars can fill, is to be the organ by which public gratitude  
 is conveyed to the Omnipotent.—Those miracles which he once  
 wrought for his chosen people are renewed in our favor; and it  
 would be equally ungrateful and impious not to acknowledge,  
 that the event which lately confounded our enemies and frustrat-  
 ed their designs, was the wonderful work of that God who guards  
 our liberties.—And who but He could so combine the circum-  
 stances which led to success? We have seen our enemies push  
 forward amid perils almost innumerable, amid objects almost in-  
 surmountable, to the spot which was designed to witness their dis-  
 grace; yet they eagerly fought it as their theatre of triumph!—  
 Blind as they were, they bore hunger, thirst and inclement skies,  
 poured out their blood in battle against brave republicans, and  
 crossed immense regions to confine themselves in another Jeri-  
 cho, whose walls were fated to fall before another Joshua. It is  
 He, whose voice commands the winds, the seas and the seasons,  
 who formed a junction on the same day, in the same hour, be-  
 tween a formidable fleet from the south, and an army rushing from  
 the north, like an impetuous torrent. Who but He, in whose  
 hands are the hearts of men, could inspire the allied troops with  
 the friendships, the confidence, the tenderness of brothers? How  
 is it that two nations once divided, jealous, inimical, and nursed  
 in reciprocal prejudices, are now become so cordially united as to  
 form but one? Worldlings would say, it is the wisdom, the vir-  
 tue, and moderation of their chiefs; it is a great national interest  
 which has performed this prodigy. They will say, that to the  
 skill of the generals, to the courage of the troops, to the activity  
 of the whole army, we must attribute this splendid success. Ah!  
 they are ignorant, that the combining of so many fortunate cir-  
 cumstances, is an emanation from the All-perfect Mind; that cou-  
 rage, that skill, that activity, bear the sacred impression of Him  
 who is divine.—For how many favors have we not to thank Him  
 during the course of the present year? Your union, which was  
 at first supported by justice alone, has been consolidated by your  
 courage, and the knot which ties you together is become indis-  
 soluble, by the accession of all the states, and the unanimous voice  
 of all the confederates. You present to the universe the noble sight  
 of a society, which founded in equality and justice, secure to the indi-  
 viduals who compose it, the utmost happiness which can be derived  
 from human institutions. This advantage, which so many other na-  
 tions have been unable to procure, even after ages of effort and  
 misery, is granted by Divine Providence to the United States;  
 and his adorable decrees have marked the present moment for the  
 completion.

completion of that memorable happy revolution, which has taken place in this extensive continent. While your councils were thus acquiring new energy, rapid multiplied successes have crowned your arms in the southern states.—We have seen the unfortunate citizens of these states forced from their peaceful abodes;—after a long and cruel captivity, old men, women and children, thrown without mercy into a foreign country. Master of their lands and their slaves, amid his temporary affluence, a superb victor rejoiced in their distresses. But Philadelphia has witnessed their patience and fortitude; they have found here another home, and though driven from their native soil, they have blessed God that he has delivered them from the presence of their enemies, and conducted them to a country, where every just and feeling man has stretched out the helping hand of benevolence. Heaven rewards their virtue. Three large states are at once wrested from the foe. The rapacious soldier has been compelled to take refuge behind his ramparts, and oppression has banished like those phantoms which are dissipated by the morning ray.—On this solemn occasion, we might renew our thanks to the God of battles, for the success he has granted to the arms of your allies and your friends, by land and by sea, through the other parts of the globe. But let us not recall those events which too clearly prove how much the hearts of our enemies have been obdurate. Let us prostrate ourselves at the altar, and implore the God of mercy to suspend his vengeance, to spare them in his wrath, to inspire them with sentiments of justice and moderation, to terminate their obstinacy and error, and to ordain that your victories be followed by peace and tranquillity. Let us beseech him to continue to shed on the councils of the king your ally, that spirit of wisdom, of justice and of courage, which has rendered his reign so glorious. Let us entreat him to maintain in each of the states that intelligence by which the United States are inspired. Let us return him thanks, that a faction whose rebellion he has corrected, now deprived of support, is annihilated. Let us offer him pure hearts, unsoiled by private hatred or public dissension; and let us with one will and one voice, pour forth to the Lord that hymn of praise, by which christians celebrate their gratitude and his glory.”

The most important books and papers of Congress engaged at length the attention of the enemy. A scheme was concerted for carrying them off. Licut. Moody, who had been so successful in taking the American mails, was employed. He remained on the Jersey side of the Delaware, while his brother John Moody, and another or two repaired to Philadelphia. Before they could execute the business intrusted to them, a discovery took place; and



and some of them were seized. Parties were sent across the Delaware to secure the lieutenant; but he eluded all their exertions, and escaped in an extraordinary manner. His brother and a fellow soldier were brought before a board of officers, at which the Marquis de la Fayette presided, and were indulged with a candid and full hearing. An opinion of the officers being reported to the board of war, and approved, they were sentenced to die. John Moody was executed on the 13th of November, the other was respited. The care of Congress will be engaged the more by this fruitless project, to guard against any future attempts of a similar nature.

On the 23d of November they resolved, "That Major Gen. the Marquis de la Fayette, have permission to go to France, and that he return at such a time as shall be most convenient to him:—That he be informed, that on a review of his conduct throughout the past campaign, and particularly during the period in which he had the chief command in Virginia, the many new proofs which present themselves of his zealous attachment to the cause he has espoused, and of his judgment, vigilance, gallantry and address in its defence, have greatly added to the high opinion entertained by Congress of his merits and military talents:—That he make known to the officers and troops whom he commanded during that period, that the brave and enterprising services with which they seconded his zeal and efforts, and which enabled him to defeat the attempts of an enemy far superior in numbers, have been beheld by Congress with particular satisfaction and approbation:—That the secretary of foreign affairs acquaint the ministers plenipotentiary of the United States, that it is the desire of Congress that they confer with the Marquis de la Fayette, and avail themselves of his information relative to the situation of public affairs in the United States:—That the secretary for foreign affairs, further acquaint the minister plenipotentiary at the court of Versailles, that he will conform to the intention of Congress, by consulting with and employing the assistance of the Marquis de la Fayette, in accelerating the supplies which may be afforded by his Most Christian Majesty for the use of the United States:—That the superintendent of finance, the secretary for foreign affairs, and the board of war, make such communications to the Marquis de la Fayette, touching the affairs of their respective departments, as will best enable him to fulfil the purpose of the two resolutions immediately preceding:—That the superintendent of finance take order for discharging the engagement entered into by the Marquis de la Fayette with the merchants of Baltimore"——when he borrowed money of them on his own credit, for supplying his troops with necessaries.

General

General Washington attended Congress according to order and being introduced [Nov. 28.] by two members, the president addressed him as follows—"Sir, Congress at all times happy in seeing your excellency, feel particular pleasure in your presence at this time, after the glorious success of the allied arms in Virginia. It is their fixed purpose to draw every advantage from it by exhorting the states in the strongest terms, to the most vigorous and timely exertions. A committee has accordingly been appointed to state the requisitions necessary to be made for the establishment of the army, and they are instructed to confer with you upon that subject. It is therefore the expectation of Congress, that your excellency would remain for some time in Philadelphia, that they may avail themselves of your aid in this important business, and that you may enjoy a respite from the fatigues of war, as far as is consistent with the service." To which his excellency made the following reply—"Mr. President, I feel very sensibly the favorable declaration of Congress expressed by your excellency. This fresh proof of their approbation cannot fail of making a deep impression upon me, and my study shall be to deserve a continuance of it. It is with peculiar pleasure I hear that it is the fixed purpose of Congress to exhort the states to the most vigorous and timely exertions: a compliance on their parts will, I persuade myself, be productive of the most happy consequences.—I shall yield a ready obedience to the expectation of Congress, and give every assistance in my power to their committee. I am obliged by the goodness of Congress in making my personal ease and convenience a part of their concern. Should the service require my attendance with the army upon the North river or elsewhere, I shall repair to whatever place my duty calls, with the same pleasure that I remain in this city." On the last day of the year Congress agreed to *An ordinance to incorporate the subscribers to the bank of North America.*

A few days before, Gen. Washington wrote—"The whole business of prisoners of war brought under one regulation, might probably put a stop to those mutual complaints of ill treatment which are frequently urged on either part. For it is a fact, that for above two years we have had no reason to complain of the treatment of the continental land prisoners in New York, neither have we been charged with any improper conduct toward those in our hands. I consider the sufferings of the seamen for some time past as arising in a great measure from the want of that general regulation, and without which there will be constantly a great number remaining in the hands of the enemy.—I know of no method so likely to put an end to the mutual complaints of both sides, as that of having all prisoners given up to the commissary general to be by him exchanged."

In



In this letter there is an allusion to an improper conduct toward the British prisoners in the hands of the Americans, which leads me to mention the case of the convention troops. While in Virginia they were often but badly served with meat. The chief of what the American contractor had procured for their supply was such as they could not eat. The British commanding officer at length made his complaint, and obtained leave to have it surveyed, when it was condemned in general. The American quarter masters were, upon that, obliged to go all over Virginia in search of salt provisions, the want of which was such, at one time, that the prisoners had six weeks meat due to them. On this an addition of one half more was made to the allowance of Indian meal, and the troops lived upon meal and water. When afterward removed to Frederick-town in Maryland, they complained of meeting with much ill usage, and of being badly supplied with provisions and almost half starved. This treatment made the men desert in great numbers. Instances of improper conduct toward other prisoners undoubtedly existed. But the general treatment of them was good; and wherein it was otherwise, fell so short of what the British practised toward the Americans, that the former frequently declared of the latter, that notwithstanding all their threats, they were afraid to retaliate.

The British power in Georgia being too weak to prevent it, there has been a complete re-establishment of American government. The general assembly was convened at Augusta on the 16th of August. General Greene's success in South Carolina, having opened the way for Gov. Rutledge's safe return to that state, he exercised his authority afresh, and on the 27th of September, issued a proclamation, offering those inhabitants of the state who had joined the British, pardon on condition of their doing six months militia duty, with the exception of such as had taken commissions, signed congratulatory addresses on British victories, or who had been otherwise active in support of their government. In a few weeks, several hundreds came out of the British lines, and greatly reinforced the American militia. Many were now as assiduous in framing excuses for having arranged themselves under the British standard, as they had been the year before to apologize for their involuntary support of rebellion. Several cast themselves on the public mercy, though excepted by the proclamation. The governor afterward issued writs for a new election of representatives, by virtue of the extraordinary power delegated to him before the surrender of Charlestown. The elections were to be held in the usual places where it was practicable

cable, and in other cases as near as safety and other circumstances would permit. It was ordered by the same authority, that at the election the votes of such only should be received as had never taken British protection, or who having taken it, had notwithstanding rejoined their countrymen, on or before the date of the proclamation. Other persons, though residents, were not considered as freemen of the state, or entitled to the full privilege of citizenship. To counteract the several measures of the governor, General Leslie issued a proclamation on the 15th of December, assuring his majesty's loyal subjects in the province, that they might rely on speedy and effectual support being given to them, by the exertions of the forces under his command; and at the same time giving notice, that the severest punishments should be inflicted on all who, having solicited for and obtained the enjoyment of the privileges of a British subject, should again take arms against his majesty's government, or serve in any civil capacity under a second usurpation.

Vermont, though not admitted into the confederation, nor acknowledged by the United States, exercises all the powers of an independent state—has her legislative, judicial and executive branches, and will continue them, without subjecting herself to the payment of any part of the continental debt till received into the union.

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## L E T T E R XI.

*Rotterdam, April 30, 1782.*

FRIEND G.

THE Congress of the United States of America, having at length (that they might gain Spain) agreed to recede from their claim to the navigation of the Mississippi. Mr. Jay, agreeable to the request of the Count de Florida Blanca, delivered in propositions relative to an intended treaty, on the 22d of last September. The 6th article was thus expressed—"The United States shall relinquish to his Catholic Majesty, and in future forbear to use, the navigation of the river Mississippi from the point where it leaves the United States down to the ocean." But it was accompanied with this remark of his among others—"If the acceptance of it should, together with the proposed alliance, be postponed to a general peace, the United States will cease to consider themselves



themselves bound by any propositions or offers, which he may now make in their behalf." The design of the Spanish court appears to be the drawing of all such concessions from the United States, that their present distress and the hopes of aid may extort. Beside, by protracting negotiations about the treaty, they may intend to avail themselves of these concessions at a future day, when the inducements for offering them have ceased. They neither refuse nor promise to afford the United States further aid. Delay may be deemed their system. The American commissioners at the European courts labor under great disadvantages, as their dispatches brought by the captains of vessels are not sent to them by a trusty officer, and therefore are liable to be opened and suppressed, as is known to have been done in certain instances. Few of the proceedings of congress remain long secret; and one of their agents has informed them, that he had very good authority for saying, that copies of the letters which passed between the committee and the late commissioners in France, are now in the hands of a certain foreigner. How he got them the agent knows not; but he asserts it as a fact.

The arrival of the British West India trade was so much later than had been expected, that Adm. Darby kept the sea till November. It is somewhat remarkable, that neither the allied fleets, nor the British, took a single prize during the long term they were respectively at sea.

The Spaniards, though they engaged in the expedition against Minorca, did not relax in their operations against Gibraltar.—For the more certain and speedy reduction of the place, they erected stupendous works, which were at length arrived at the highest state of perfection, after immense labor and expence. Gen. Elliot considered this as the proper season for attempting at once to frustrate all their views, by attacking, storming and destroying them. The time being fixed [Nov. 27.] and the arrangements made, a strong detachment issued from the garrison upon the setting of the moon, at 3 o'clock in the morning. The troops were divided into three columns, and the whole commanded by Gen. Ross. Each column was formed in the following order, viz. an advanced corps, a body of pioneers, a party of artillery men carrying combustibles, a sustaining corps, and a reserve in the rear. The pioneers of the left column were seamen. Nothing could exceed the silence and order of the march, the vigor and spirit of the attack, or the exact combination of all the parts. The whole exterior front of the Spanish works was every where attacked at the same instant, and the ardor of the troops was irresistible. The Spaniards gave way on every side, and soon aban-

doned their works with the utmost precipitation. In half an hour two mortar batteries of ten 13 inch mortars, and three batteries of heavy cannon, with all the lines of approach, communication and traverse, were in flames, and whatever was subject to the action of fire was finally reduced to ashes. The mortars and cannon were spiked, and their beds, carriages and platforms destroyed. The magazines blew up one after another in the course of the conflagration. The whole Spanish camp continued spectators of the havoc, without an effort to save or even avenge their works, unless an ill directed and ineffectual fire of round and grape shot might be considered as either. The whole service was performed, and the detachment returned to the garrison before day break. Its loss was too inconsiderable to be mentioned.

On the 27th of November, his British majesty went to the house of peers and opened the session of parliament. The speech expressed the king's determined resolution to persevere in the defence of his dominions, until such a pacification could be made as might consist with the honor of his crown, and the permanent interest and security of his people. The losses in America were neither dissembled nor palliated; but stated as the ground for requiring the firm support of parliament, and a more vigorous, animated and united exertion of the faculties and resources of the people. The favorable appearance of affairs in the East Indies was noticed; which was the only ray of success with which the speech was illuminated. An account had been received, that on the 1st of July, Sir Eyre Coote with his little army came to a general action with Hyder Ally, which lasted eight hours, and was a hard fought day on both sides. The amazing superiority of the enemy yielded at length to the steadiness, spirit and bravery of Sir Eyre's troops. Hyder Ally retreated precipitately after having had 4000 killed, among whom were many of his principal officers. Sir Eyre lost but few officers, and about 400 privates killed and wounded.

The motion for an address in the house of commons produced a warm and animated debate, which continued till two in the morning. Mr. Fox moved for an amendment, by omitting that part of it which promised to support the American war; and proposed a new one, expressing a wish for a new system of measures, which the house would assist to forward. But it was rejected by 218 against 129. During the debate Mr. Burke observed, that "The Colonel Laurens, who drew up the articles of capitulation, when Lord Cornwallis surrendered, is the son of Mr. Laurens, who has been committed close prisoner to the Tower of London, of which Lord Cornwallis is himself the governor; and thus his lordship



lordship became a prisoner to the son of his own prisoner." In the house of lords an amendment to the address was proposed by Lord Shelburne in a very masterly speech, but was rejected by a majority of 75.

Mr. Burke had, in the former session, moved for an inquiry into the conduct observed on the capture of Statia, which was rejected by a majority of near two to one. He brought on the business afresh; and in his speech [Dec. 4.] on the occasion mentioned, that three months were spent by the British commanders in disposing of and securing the plunder of the island; that Sir George Rodney's fleet amounted to 21 sail of the line; and that the whole French force, previous to the arrival of Count de Grasse, consisted only of 8 ships of the line, and one fifty.—He said this favorable opportunity was entirely neglected, the whole British fleet, and near 3000 chosen troops, being kept upward of two months in a state of total inaction, for the important service of protecting the sales at Statia. He ascribed to the same disgraceful cause, as a second misfortune, the weakness of the detachment sent under Sir Samuel Hood, to prevent the junction of the French fleet in the West Indies with that which de Grasse brought from Europe. Sir George declared in reply, that he made the seizure of the effects for the sole and exclusive benefit of the crown; and had no intelligence, till long after the confiscation, of his majesty's intentions to relinquish his right in favor of the fleet and army; that his presence at Statia was absolutely necessary for some time; that during that period, he had planned two expeditions, one against Curacoa, the other against Surinam, and was upon the point of putting them into execution, when he received intelligence of the approach of de Grasse, whose fleet was reported to consist of no more than 12 sail of the line; and that consequently he thought Sir Samuel Hood a sufficient match with fifteen.

An humble address, remonstrance and petition of the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of the city of London was agreed to, and ordered to be presented to his majesty sitting on the throne. The king determining to receive it at the levee, the mode of thus presenting it was declined. It was however published. The language and sentiments of it are peculiarly striking—"It is (they say) with inexpressible concern, that we have heard your majesty declare in your speech to both houses of parliament, your intention of persevering in a system of measures which has proved so disastrous to this country. Your majesty's ministers have, by false assertions and fallacious suggestions, deluded your majesty and the nation, into the present unnatural and unfortunate war.—

The

The consequences of this delusion have been, that the trade of this country has suffered irreparable losses: the landed property throughout the kingdom has been depreciated to the most alarming degree: the property of your majesty's subjects, vested in the public funds, has lost above one-third of its value: private credit has been almost wholly annihilated, by the enormous interest given in the public loans, superior to that which is allowed by law in any private contract: your majesty's fleets have lost their wonted superiority: your armies have been captured: your dominions have been lost: and your majesty's faithful subjects have been loaded with a burden of taxes, which, even if our victories had been as splendid as our defeats have been disgraceful, if our accession to the dominion had been as fortunate as the dismemberment of the empire has been cruel and disastrous, could not in itself be considered but as a great and grievous calamity. We beseech your majesty no longer to continue in a delusion, from which the nation has awakened; and that your majesty will be graciously pleased to relinquish entirely, and for ever, the plan of reducing our brethren in America to obedience by force. We further humbly implore your majesty, that your majesty will be graciously pleased to dismiss from your presence and councils, all the advisers, both public and secret, of the measures we lament, as a pledge to the world of your majesty's fixed determination to abandon a system incompatible with the interests of your crown, and the happiness of your people."

On the day appointed [12th.] for voting the army supplies, the house of commons was early and uncommonly crowded. The opposition foreseeing the difficulties ministry would be under, was induced to bring forward certain motions, which might discover the number of those in the house, who with respect to their general political sentiments, agreed in opinion with them on the prosecution of the war. A coalition from all parties was designed, for the sole purpose of obliging the crown to put an end to the attempt of reducing Americans to obedience by force. Sir James Lowther moved, "that all our efforts to subjugate America have been fruitless, either for the purpose of supporting our friends, or conquering our enemies; and that it is the opinion of this house, that all future attempts to reduce the Americans to obedience by force, will be ineffectual and injurious to the true interests of this country, by weakening her powers to resist her ancient and confederated enemies." These motions were opposed by the whole strength of government; which however produced but a small majority, the numbers for them being 179, and against them 220. This sufficiently showed a prevailing change of sentiment in re-



gard to the American war; and indeed all orders of men began to reprobate it with unrestrained freedom.

Before the adjournment of the house for the holidays, Mr. Burke brought up a *representation and prayer*, addressed to the house of commons by Mr. Laurens himself, which was laid on the table. It was written by the petitioner with a black lead pencil; he having, as is thought, refused to accept of some indulgences lately offered him, and amongst the rest that of pen and ink, the use of which had been strictly forbidden him, during the greatest part of his confinement. The house was also informed by Mr. Burke, that Congress had offered to exchange Gen. Burgoyne for Mr. Laurens; and many reasons were urged by him for its taking place. Mr. Laurens was at length brought before Lord Mansfield, on the last day of the year, in consequence of an order from the secretary of state, and was discharged upon certain conditions. He then repaired to Bath for the recovery of his health, which had been much impaired by his confinement and the hardships with which it was accompanied.

Before the 12th of January, ministry received an account of Statia's having been surpris'd and taken by the French.—The Marquis de Bouille being made acquainted with the security and negligence of the governor and garrison, attempted the reduction of the island. He embarked about 2000 men in a number of small vessels at Martinico; and knowing that the only practicable landing place was left unguarded, he took his measures so as to arrive before it early in the night. An unexpected rise of the sea caused the loss of several boats and many soldiers, while endeavoring to disembark. With his utmost efforts he could only land about 400 by day-break: there was no hope of reinforcing them with the remainder of the troops, the greater part of the boats having been broken. He saw the danger of his situation, that a retreat was impossible; that the garrison was nearly double his own number; and that nothing but the success of a bold adventure, could possibly save him and his troops from being either made prisoners or cut to pieces. He determined upon a vigorous attack. The place where he landed was about two leagues from the town and fort: the way to these was not only extremely difficult, but intersected by a defile in which a handful of men could have stopped an army. The troops that had been landed, were composed principally of Count Dillon's regiment, a part of the Irish brigade in the French service. A division of the garrison was going through its exercise in a field at some distance from the fort. It mistook the enemy, as their red uniform was the same with the English; and did not retreat till it had received a close  
discharge

discharge of small arms, which killed and wounded several. Upon the alarm occasioned by the volley, those of the garrison who were in quarters hurried to the fort, and clogged the draw-bridge in such a manner, that it could not be raised, until the enemy entered pell mell along with them. Lieut. Col. Cockburne, the governor, who had been taking an early ride, returned at the instant of surprise, and was made prisoner on horseback. He was "guilty of culpable neglect, in not taking the necessary precautions for the defence of the island, notwithstanding he had received the fullest intelligence of an intended attack."\* Thus was Statia, with the dependent islands of St. Martin and Saba, reduced in a few minutes on the 26th of November, with the loss to the French of no more than ten soldiers killed and wounded. The British garrison, consisted of 677 men, and the artillery of 68 pieces of cannon.

The marquis de Bouille behaved with his usual magnanimity, and admitted the claims of the original proprietors to various articles on the island. A considerable sum of money which Lieut. Col. Cockburne declared to be his, was with the generous consent of the French officers restored to him. But a very large sum, the remainder of the produce of the late sales, and said to be the property of Adm. Rodney and Gen. Vaughan, became a prize to the victors. Their whole spoil has been estimated at two millions of livres.

When Count de Guichen returned from his cruise, the utmost expedition was used at Brest in refitting the French fleet for the sea, notwithstanding the lateness of the season. The reinforcing of Count de Grasse in the West Indies with troops and ships of war, was indispensably requisite; and it was foreseen, that he would want on that station almost every article of provisions and necessary of life, beside an immense supply of military and naval stores of every kind, after the service on the North American coasts. The French concluded also upon sending a reinforcement of troops and ships to Mons. de Suffrein in the East Indies, where the demand for naval and military stores was also urgent. A numerous convoy of transports, store ships and provision vessels, were accordingly gotten in readiness with the same diligence as the fleet. It was needful to guard against the designs of the British, the preparation was therefore extended to such a number of men of war, as was thought equal to the protection of the whole, till they were at a safe distance. Count de Guichen was appointed to the command of all, while he remained in company with them. The squadron and fleet destined for the West Indies, was intrusted

\* The sentence of the court martial.



entrusted with the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who carried out a considerable body of land forces, with a full confidence, on the side of both France and Spain, of now perfecting their plan for the reduction of Jamaica.

The intelligence of this preparation, and in a measure of its object, being received in Britain, Adm. Kempenfelt was dispatched in the beginning of December, with 12 sail of the line, a 50 gun ship, four frigates, and a fireship, to intercept the French quadron and convoy. But for want of better information or from some other cause, the French fleet was so much superior to what had been conceived, and to Kempenfelt's force, that the real danger lay on the side of the latter. Count de Guichen had no less than 19 sail of heavy line of battle ships, beside two more armed *en flute*, as the French call it, when the lower deck guns are placed in the hold to make room for the conveyance of a moderate cargo.

The British admiral, expecting that his enemy had only an equal force at the most, fortunately fell in with the French [Dec. 12.] in a hard gale of wind, when both the fleet and convoy were much dispersed, and the latter considerably astern. Kempenfelt concluded upon profiting from the present situation, by endeavoring to cut off the convoy in the first instance, and fighting the enemy afterward. He succeeded in part. A great number of prizes were taken. About twenty arrived safe in British ports; while several that struck escaped in the night. Two or three ships are said to have been sunk. A number must undoubtedly have lost their voyage, through the great dispersion of the convoy which necessarily existed. The French commanders were in the mean time collecting their fleet, and forming the line of battle. Kempenfelt also having collected his ships in the evening, and being still ignorant of the enemy's force, got upon the same tack with them, under a full determination of engaging them the next morning. At day light perceiving them to leeward, he formed the line; but discovering their force on a nearer approach, he did not think it advisable to hazard an action. He arrived at Portsmouth on the 20th of December: but had taken the precaution of dispatching the *Agamemnon* to pick up any stragglers from the Brest fleet. The *Agamemnon* fortunately fell in with four large ships and a snow from Bourdeaux to Martinico, meant to join de Guichen, and captured them on the 25th.

Near 1100 land forces, and between 6 and 700 seamen, were taken in the prizes captured by the admiral, which were mostly freighted on the French king's account. They were laden chiefly with brass and iron ordnance, gunpowder, small arms, flints, bomb-

bomb-shells, cannon balls, grenades in a prodigious quantity iron bars, sheet lead, travelling forges, all kinds of ordnance stores tents, camp equipage, soldiers clothing and accoutrements, woollen and linen goods for the land and sea service, great cables, sail-cloth and cordage, with every supply for shipping in a great amount, wine, oil, brandy, rum, flour, biscuit and salted provisions, all in large and the most necessary in prodigious quantities.

The capture was valuable and important; but served to excite the dissatisfaction of the public, who supposed that it was through neglect, that Kempenfelt had not been supplied with a force which would have enabled him to take or destroy the whole French fleet and convoy. A great clamor was raised; which was probably increased by the attempts made in both houses of parliament, after the Christmas recess, to render this business a ground of complaint and charge against the first lord of the admiralty. Mr. Fox moved, on the 7th of February, the following resolution in the committee, "That it appears to this committee, that there was gross mismanagement in the administration of naval affairs in the year 1781." He said in his speech upon the occasion—"It appears from the papers on the table, that for several weeks before the sailing of the French fleet, the admiralty had been in the course of receiving regular intelligence of its equipment; and that it was evident, that 18 or 20 sail of the line were in readiness to put to sea." Lord Howe on the same day declared it to be his opinion, that the early intelligence ministry had received of the designs of the enemy, left them without excuse, for not having prepared a force sufficient to attack them. He asked—"Why was not Sir George Rodney sent out with Adm. Kempenfelt? His Squadron is allowed to have been fit for service." Mr. Fox's motion was rejected by a very great majority, after long and warm debates. What Kempenfelt could not effect for want of more ships, was in a great degree accomplished in another way. Count de Guichen's fleet and convoy, after Kempenfelt's successful attack on the latter, were so shattered and disabled, by a continual succession of tempests and foul weather, that only two of the men of war and a few of the convoy, could hold on their course to join de Grasse. The remainder were obliged to return in very bad condition to France. Since then, a second convoy from Brest sailed on the 11th of February, in order to supply the failure of the other.

The eagerness of the Spaniards to gain possession of Minorca after landing on the island, was so excessive, as to induce them through the medium of a bribe, insidiously to attempt corrupting the fidelity of the governor. The Duke de Crillon suffered him-



self to become the instrument in this business. General Murray treated the insult with a suitable disdain. The close investure of Fort St. Philip, from the time of the enemy's landing, wholly prevented the garrison's being supplied with vegetables. The want of these, destroyed in a great measure, the benefits which might have been otherwise expected from the general plenty enjoyed in other respects. The scurvy raged among the troops to a high degree, and was attended by a putrid pestilential fever and mortal dysentery. Much the greater part of the British soldiers had been eleven years on the island, and had lived constantly upon salt provisions, so that the want of vegetables was the more sensibly felt, when they came to be deprived of them. The progress of the distemper was also much furthered by the close confinement of the men within the narrow limits of the fortresses; and still more so by the tainted air of the casemates and souterrains, which the cannonade and bombardment of the enemy rendered their only habitations, and which became every day more pernicious by occupancy.

The combined forces amounted to 16,000 regulars, attended by a prodigious artillery, consisting of 100 pieces of the heaviest cannon, and 36 great mortars. The garrison consisted only of 2592 men; of these 2016 were British and Hanoverian regular troops, including however in this number 400 invalids, who had been sent from Britain in 1775. A marine corps, which had been formed upon the present occasion, and was of excellent service, composed the greater part of the remainder. A handful of Greeks and Corsicans also behaved with much bravery. The works of the fortresses were so numerous, that the garrison, in full health, did not amount to half the number which would have been necessary to their effectual defence. This weakness probably led the Duke de Crillon to lie somewhat unguardedly in his headquarters at Cape Mola, which induced a vigorous and successful attack from the garrison. The troops employed in it surprised and routed the enemy; chased the duke from his post, and secured themselves so effectually in it, that though he brought up his whole army to dislodge them, he desisted from the attack; and left them to return the following night in safety. This happened early in November, about the time when the enemy opened their bomb batteries. Though the besiegers kept a cautious distance in the construction and progress of their works; yet their vast and numerous artillery were so weighty, powerful and incessant in their battery, and such showers of great shells were continually poured into the place, that they soon ruined the upper defences of the fortresses, and rendered useless a great number of cannon.

The garrison displayed the greatest zeal, valor and constancy; but in the beginning of February was so much reduced by sickness, that only 660 were left fit for duty: of these, all but one hundred were so far tainted with the scurvy, that the physicians and surgeons declared, that they could hold out only a very few days, before they must be sent to the hospital. They also said, that a few days longer obstinacy in defence must prove the destruction of the remains of that brave garrison, as there were no means of keeping the greater part of them much longer alive, but by a speedy relief of wholesome air, aided by an abundant supply of vegetables. The necessary guards on the last night of defence, required 415 men upon duty, so that there were only 245 left, 170 less than the necessary number for the next relief, and no picket could be at all formed.

Under these circumstances, the governor was reduced to the necessity [Feb. 5.] of capitulating. He obtained all the honors of war, and every thing he required, excepting that of freeing the garrison from being prisoners, which the Duke de Crillon assured him, the Spanish king in his instructions had particularly tied him down from granting; but the troops were to be sent to Britain, subject to the customary conditions of not serving till exchanged, or discharged by a peace. The Corsicans and other foreigners were secured in their persons and effects, and in the liberty of going where they pleased.

The poor remains of the garrison, while marching through the Spanish and French armies, which were drawn up in opposite lines for their passage, exhibited such a tragical spectacle as is not often seen, though it was at the same time much to the glory of the sufferers. Six hundred old, emaciated, worn-down and decrepid soldiers, were followed by 120 of the royal artillery, and 200 seamen: about 20 Corsicans, and 25 Greeks and Turks, Moors and Jews, &c. closed the procession. When the battalions arrived at the place appointed for laying down their arms, the soldiers exclaimed with tears in their eyes—"We surrender them to God alone." They seemingly derived great consolation from the opinion that the victors could not boast of their conquest in taking an hospital. The indignation and grief expressed by the British troops on their being at length vanquished, was mentioned in terms of admiration, and of the highest honor to the garrison, in the Spanish published accounts of this transaction. During the siege from the 19th of August 1781, to the 4th of February inclusive, the total of the killed was 59, and of the wounded 149.

The sympathy discovered by the enemy upon the occasion, was highly to their honor. Several of the common soldiers of both armies



armies were so moved by the wretched condition of the garrison, that involuntary tears dropped from them as the prisoners passed along. The subsequent tenderness shown by the Duke de Crillon, the Count of the same name and family, and the Baron de Falkenhayn, who commanded the French troops, in their continued supply of all necessaries to the sick, and their unremitted attention to their recovery, was beyond all praise.

The members in the British house of commons opposed to the administration, aimed at binding up the hands of the executive government by a strong and explicit declaration of the opinion of parliament. Gen. Conway [22.] therefore moved—"That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he will be pleased to give directions to his ministers not to pursue any longer the impracticable object of reducing his majesty's revolted colonies, by force, to their allegiance, by a war on the continent of America, and to assure his majesty, that his faithful commons will most cheerfully concur with him in such measures as may be found necessary to accelerate the blessings of returning peace." The debates were warm, and held till two in the morning; when upon the division the numbers for the motion were 193, and against it 194. The majority of one only on the side of ministry, proved that their influence was nearly at an end. Five days after Conway renewed his motion. The debates it occasioned continued till near two in the morning, when the attorney general moved—"That the present debate be adjourned until the 13th of March." There were for the adjournment 215 against 234. The original motion, and address to the king formed upon the resolution, were then carried without a division, and the address was ordered to be presented by the whole house. The next day the attorney general moved to bring in a bill to enable his majesty to conclude a peace or truce with the revolted colonies in America, which was agreed to. The bill had for its object the repeal of all acts relative to the commerce of America, from the 12th of Charles II. The same day the secretaries of state sent a letter to the Lord Mayor of London, informing him of the apprehension which existed of riots and tumults in the evening; that for proper measures might be taken for securing the public peace. It was feared, that the great and general joy occasioned by the carrying of Conway's motion would have produced those riots. On the 4th of March, his majesty's answer was reported to the house, and the thanks of the house unanimously voted to the king for the same.—After which Conway rose and moved another resolution—"That this house will consider as enemies to his majesty and this country, all those who shall endeavor to frustrate his majesty's paternal

care for the ease and happiness of his people, by advising, or by any means attempting, the further prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America, for the purpose of reducing the colonies to obedience by force." Government made a feeble opposition to the motion, and at length suffered it to pass without a division. On that day also, a commission passed the great seal, appointing Sir Guy Carleton commander in chief in America.

The resolutions that were passed in the house, and the warm reception they met with from the public, served to show that a complete revolution in the internal policy of government must succeed, which was an event no wise agreeable to the sentiments of the court.

The opposition fought [8th.] to obtain a vote, from which it might appear, that the house of commons had totally withdrawn its confidence from the present administration. Lord John Cavendish made several motions with that view, and a long debate ensued, when the house divided at last on the order of the day, which had been moved for and was carried by a majority of 16. That day week, [15th.] a motion was made by Sir John Rous, in which it was proposed to resolve, that the house could have no further confidence in the ministers, who had the direction of public affairs. On this occasion the strength of both parties was mustered. Near 480 members were present; and on the division the question was negatived by a majority of only 9. Notice was given after the division, that a motion to the same effect would be made on the Wednesday following.

On that day, [20.] the house was again uncommonly crowded; when after a while, Lord North assured the house with authority, that the administration, against which the intended motion was levelled, did no longer exist; and that his majesty was come to a full determination of changing his ministers. He then moved for an adjournment, that leisure might be given for the forming of a new administration. He afterward took leave of the house as minister. His speech was decent and pathetic. He thanked them for the honorable support they had given him during so long a course of years, and in so many trying situations; and concluded with signifying, that he was both ready and desirous to encounter the strictest scrutiny into his conduct.

During the adjournment, which was to the 25th, the new administration was formed under the auspices of the Marquis of Rockingham, on whose public principles and private honor, the nation can rely with confidence, after the violent struggle with which it has been agitated. The cabinet, including the marquis as first commissioner of the treasury, is composed of the Earl of Shelburne



Shelburne and Mr. Fox, who have been appointed secretaries of state; Lord Camden, president of the council; the Duke of Grafton, privy seal; Lord John Cavendish, chancellor of the exchequer; Admiral Keppel, first commissioner of the admiralty; General Conway, commander in chief of the forces; the Duke of Richmond, master-general of the ordnance; Barre, treasurer of the navy; and Edmund Burke, paymaster general.

The public measures for which the new minister is said to have stipulated with the court, before he would consent to enter into any negotiation for office, are these.—1. Peace with the Americans; and the acknowledgment of their independence not to be a bar to the attainment of the same—2. A substantial reform in the several branches of the civil list expenditure, on the plan of Mr. Burke—3. The diminution of the influence of the crown, under which article the bills for excluding contractors from seats in parliament, and disqualifying the revenue officers from voting in the election of members were included.

The revolution that has taken place in the British administration, is chiefly owing to the capture of Lord Cornwallis and his army; and must diffuse a general joy through the United States of America, whenever the account reaches them; by exciting their hopes of soon possessing the great object for which they have been contending. But the disagreeable intelligence received at the admiralty office from the West Indies on the 12th and 26th of March, did undoubtedly promote and confirm the said revolution.

The superiority of the French by sea and land in that part of the world, enabled them to undertake what they pleased. The loss of Statia was but the prelude to further misfortunes on the side of Britain. St. Kitt's was doomed to become a victim to the policy and power of France. The Marquis de Bonille [January 11.] landed 8000 men on the island, and was supported by Count de Grasse, with 32 ships of the line. The garrison under Gen. Frazer did not exceed 600 effective men: so that the great superiority of the enemy prevented all resistance to their landing. The garrison retired to Brimstone-hill, which, beside some newly erected fortifications, was considered from its height and almost inaccessible situation, as one of the strongest posts in the West India islands. But the troops were too few for its defence thro' a long siege.

The British fleet under Sir Samuel Hood, consisting of 22 ships of the line, was then at Barbadoes. That island was the original object of the French commanders; but they were driven so far to the leeward by contrary winds, that they found it necessary

fary to change their design, and direct their attack against Sir Samuel's. Sir Samuel notwithstanding his inferiority, determined upon boldly attempting the preservation of the island. He accordingly sailed to Antigua, where he took Gen. Prescott on board, with the few troops that could be spared; and from thence proceeded in the evening for Basseterre road, where de Grasse lay at anchor, began at day break to form his line of battle, for the purpose of bearing down upon and attacking them. The accident of two ships running foul of each other, interrupted the prosecution of this design; and the fleet was obliged to lie to for a day, during the repair of the damage which one of them had sustained. A French frigate from Martinico, full of shells and ordnance stores, for the siege of Brimstone-hill, which fell into the hands of the British, seemed to compensate in some measure for this delay. De Grasse, who could not but be surprised at this unlooked for visit, quitted his anchorage, that so by putting out to sea and gaining a good offing, his ships might have full room to act, and thereby secure all the advantages of their superiority in number.

[Jan. 25.] Sir Samuel instantly perceived how he might profit by this movement. The enemy formed in a line of battle a-head. He carried on every appearance of a determined and immediate attack, whereby he drew them further from the shore. He then pushed directly for Basseterre road, and took possession of that anchorage ground, which the count had quitted on the preceding evening. A sense of the possible consequence of this movement, in cutting the French fleet off from all communication with their army on shore, led them to fall upon Commodore Affleck with the utmost fury. He commanded and closed the rear of the British squadron, and they were in no small hope of cutting off that division. The commodore with his two brave seconds, Lord Robert Manners and Capt. Cornwallis, kept up so able and unceasing a fire, that with little loss and damage to themselves, they contributed much to the covering of the other ships of the division, while they were getting into their stations. After a sharp conflict, the French were obliged to bear away.

The next morning [26.] by eight o'clock, the British line was attacked from van to rear, by 29 sail of the enemy for near two hours, without having the least visible impression made upon it.—The French then wore and stood off again to sea. De Grasse not yet discouraged, renewed the engagement in the afternoon, and directed his attack principally against the centre and rear divisions. These he hoped to overwhelm by the superiority of his force: but he was again repulsed with greater loss and damage than before. His own ship, the *Ville de Paris*, suffered severely, and received



no less than 84 shot in her hull. It was said, that the French sent a thousand wounded to Statia. The loss of the British in all the attacks is stated at 72 killed and 244 wounded. From that time the count kept at a distance, but continued constantly in sight, appearing one day with 32 two-decked ships, and another with only 29.

The success of Sir Samuel Hood's bold adventure produced very flattering prospects. The admiral had no doubt, but that Brimstone hill would hold out, till the Marquis de Bouille and Count de Grasse would be glad to retire. But therein he was mistaken. The inhabitants of the island, on the first arrival of the French, adopted a seeming neutrality. Governor Shirley indeed proceeded with 350 militia to reinforce Gen. Fraser's small garrison, and continued bravely to encounter all the dangers, and patiently to endure all the hardships of the siege. The French closely invested the hill on all sides, on the night of their landing and the following morning. The artillery destined to serve in the attack on Barbadoes was attempted to be disembarked. But the vessel which conveyed the most heavy and effective part of it, struck on the rocks and sunk. The enemy however were not discouraged by this loss, or the subsequent one of the frigate from Martinico. By persevering industry they fished up no small part of the artillery, shells and stores which had been sunk; and the men of war brought a fresh quantity of heavy ordnance from Martinico. Moreover, the very means provided for the defence of the garrison, were unhappily for them employed in their destruction. Eight brass 24 pounders, with 6000 balls, together with two 13 inch brass mortars and 1500 shells, which had been sent out by government to furnish the fortress, instead of having been removed up to the works, were all found by the French at the foot of the hill, and proved a most seasonable and necessary supply. The hill was naturally strong, but the works at the top were not answerable to its strength; and were little calculated to withstand the batteries, which the possession of the adjoining country, and the weakness of the garrison enabled the enemy to erect in the most advantageous positions. The British were moreover totally destitute of intrenching tools.

The Marquis de Bouille commenced and carried on a regular siege; but was incommoded during the whole of it, by a most vigorous fire from the garrison. The toil and fatigue of the French was excessive in such a climate, as they had no substitute for human labor in removing their artillery and heavy stores. The trenches however were opened in the night between the 16th and 17th of January. Sir Samuel Hood took the earliest opportunity,

tunity, on his arrival off the island, of sending an officer to Brimstone-hill, accompanied by one from General Prescott who in answer to the offer sent to General Fraser, brought back the following message—"That as he had taken the trouble to come with troops to his assistance, he should doubtless be glad of the honor of seeing him; but that he was in no want either of him or his troops." Prescott being very desirous notwithstanding, to be put on shore with his Antigua troops, they were accordingly landed on the 28th of Jan. together with the 69th regiment, and immediately got into action, and drove the enemy with a considerable loss to the latter; but as no solid purpose could be answered by the continuance of the troops on shore, they were taken off in the evening of the 29th, without the loss of a man. All communication being now cut off with Brimstone-hill, the general with his troops sailed back for Antigua on the 1st of February.

The French prosecuted their works and attack with unremitting industry. During the last three weeks of the siege, they were constantly, night and day, cannonading and bombarding the garrison; who though continually thinned by the numbers killed and wounded, bore the incessant fatigue of being always under arms, and the increasing danger, with admirable patience and fortitude. At length, the works on one side being so destroyed as to form an entire and complete breach, and there being not more than 500 men left able to go through duty, and Sir Samuel Hood not having it in his power to afford the least relief, both the governor and Gen. Fraser [Feb. 12.] concluded upon proposing a capitulation; which the Marquis de Bouille eagerly embraced, as the acquisition of time for further operations was important, and a security from interruption by the arrival of a British admiral to reinforce Sir Samuel was of the first consequence. Every condition they proposed was agreed to, whether in favor of the garrison or island. The former were allowed all the honors of war in the fullest sense; and the island was upon the best footing it could be, under a capitulation. The Marquis de Bouille, with his usual elevation of soul, by the last article discharged Gov. Shirley and Gen. Fraser from being considered as prisoners of war, out of respect to their courage and determined conduct; and declared that the first might return to his government of Antigua, and the latter continue in the service of his country.

The surrender of Brimstone-hill, and the capitulation of the island, rendered the longer stay of Sir Samuel Hood in Basseterre road equally useless and dangerous. Beside, the French had been joined by two ships of the line from Europe; so that Count de



de Grasse possessed the superiority of 34 to 22 ships of the line. The count anchored off Nevis on the 14th, the day on which that island followed the fate of St. Kitt's and surrendered. Sir Samuel left Basseterre road the same night, unperceived as he imagined, for not one of the French ships was to be seen in the morning; though when his fleet slipped their cables, the other lay within five miles and with their lights full in view. The surrender of Montserrat on the 22d, necessarily succeeded the loss of the two before-mentioned; so that of all the former numerous British possessions in the West Indies, there remain only Jamaica, Barbadoes and Antigua. Notwithstanding the reduction of Grimstone-hill might cost the French 1000 soldiers, and Count de Grasse might lose full 1000 sailors by engaging the British fleet, their remaining strength was so great, that the design against Jamaica must have been revived, especially as the Spaniards had a powerful fleet, and a great body of land forces, in the islands of Hispaniola and Cuba, ready to join de Grasse in an attack upon it.

After mentioning en passant, that the Marquis de la Fayette and Viscount de Noaille arrived at Paris on the 20th of January from America, and that Commodore Johnstone returned to Portsmouth from the neighbourhood of the Cape of Good Hope, on the 28th of February; I shall relate what has passed in the United Provinces of Holland, and in the dominions of the emperor of Germany.

You will recollect the circumstance of Mr. John Adams's presenting a memorial to the States General in April 1781. The French minister would have hindered his presenting it, but could not prevail. Mr. Adams was determined at all hazards to follow his own judgment; which he did in the most independent manner, in opposition to resistance, remonstrance, and other endeavours to produce a different conduct. You must understand, that the gentlemen at the Hague, who are called their high mightinesses, are not the sovereign. They are only deputies of the States General, who compose the sovereignty. These joint deputies form a diplomatic body, not a legislative nor executive one. The States General are the regencies of cities and bodies of nobles. The regencies of cities are the burgomaster, schepens or judges and counsellors, composing in the whole a number of four or five hundred men, scattered all over the republic. Mr. J. Adams had no way to come at them, but by the press. He therefore employed it, and by his publications succeeded.

The quarter of Oostergo in the province of Friesland, was the first public body that proposed a connection with the United

States of America, in December last. On the 9th of January Mr. Adams waited on the President Van Den Sandheuvel, and demanded a categorical answer, that he might be able to transmit it to his sovereign. On the 26th of February, Friesland preceded the other confederates by a resolution for opening negotiations with America, and admitting Mr. J. Adams forthwith as the minister of Congress. The new ministers of the court of London attempted to bring forward a negotiation for a separate peace with the state of Holland. Propositions for a particular peace, with an offer of an immediate suspension of hostilities, on the part of Great Britain, were made to that state by the mediation of the Russian ambassador. The merchants had the greatest aversion to such offers, as artful and dangerous. Holland and West-Friesland agreed to admit Mr. Adams, on Thursday, March 28th—Zealand the same on the 4th of April:—Overijssel on the 5th:—Groningen on the 9th:—Utrecht on the 10th:—and Guelderland on the 17th of April. On Friday the 19th, it was resolved by the deputies of the States General, that Mr. Adams be admitted and acknowledged. The next day he waited on Mr. Boreel who presided that week, and presented to him a letter from Congress, dated Jan. 1, 1781, containing a credence. On Monday the 22d of April it was resolved, "That the said Mr. Adams is agreeable to their high mightinesses; that he shall be acknowledged in quality of minister plenipotentiary; and that there shall be granted to him an audience, or assigned commissioners, when he shall demand it."

"Do not you think that the Dutchmen have behaved bravely at last? It is a great deal for them, after so long a neglect of all enterprise, and such a settled devotion to gain, to aspire at being the second power in Europe to acknowledge American independence; which they have done with great éclat. They never did any thing with more good will. They think it with reason one of the brightest periods of their history. It was the naval battle of Dogger's Bank which raised their courage. When they found that the fingers of their marine warriors had not forgotten to fight, they began to think that they might venture upon a political manœuvre."

The Dutch are chagrined with the intelligence from Bassora, contained in the London Gazette of April the 13th, and are apprehensive that their settlements of Sadras, Hulicat and Bimlipatam, with some other places to the northward of Madras, and Chinsura in Bengal, together with Negapatam their principal settlement

\* A letter from the Hague.



ment on the coast of Coromandel, are actually in the possession of the British. They had some weeks before heard of the successful expedition, which had been carried on against Padang, and their other factories on the west coast of Sumatra. But they conclude from the British publications, that the French had recovered Demarara and Isequibo for them about the end of January.\* The same Gazette mentions, that Hyder Ally had been so repeatedly and totally defeated, as to be obliged to retreat to his own territories.

What follows will afford you peculiar pleasure, as favoring the rights of conscience, and militating against ecclesiastic tyranny.

A circular letter was sent the last year through all the different districts of Bohemia, with the following notice—"That his Imperial Majesty was resolved to grant to all the protestants in his hereditary dominions, liberty of conscience; and that all the natives of his hereditary dominions, who had become voluntary exiles on account of religion, might return in the fullest conviction, that they never should be disturbed in future on the score of religion." The emperor has likewise caused an edict of the 18th of last November, to be published at Brussels, absolving the religious orders in the Low Countries from all *foreign independence* whatsoever. On the 19th of January, the following notification appeared in the Vienna Gazette—"Notice is hereby given to all those who have hitherto kept out of their country on account of the religion they profess, that his majesty pardons them, on condition that they return in the course of the year 1782, promising that they shall enjoy the same benefits as those who, on account of religion, had quitted the place of their birth, and taken up their abode in other provinces belonging to his said majesty." His majesty has moreover abolished several religious orders. His edict for the abolition of various convents has taken place at Prague, Brunn, Olmutz, &c. and the nuns and friars are freed from their vows. The possessions of the already abolished monasteries exceed what could be imagined. It is said to be the intention of his majesty to appropriate all the money he may obtain by the abolitions to charitable uses.

The emperor has caused a rescript to be circulated throughout his dominions, containing the reasons and principles which have induced him to disclaim all subordination to the pope in secular affairs. They are in short these—"That it is the highest absurdity to pretend that the successors of the apostles had a divine right

\* They surrendered to the French by capitulation, Feb. 3, 1782.

right to more authority than they themselves ever exerted: no is any man ignorant, that our Lord Jesus Christ only charged them with functions entirely spiritual: 1st, With the preaching of the gospel. 2dly, With the care of the propagation of it. 3dly, With the administration of the sacraments, (that is, of those which are spiritual.) 4thly, With the care of the church."— They are the same principles as were published by father Paul in his Rights of Sovereigns and Subjects: or to ascend to a much higher authority, in the Books of the New Testament, by the *Supreme Head of the christian church*, who declared, *my kingdom is not of this world.*

The measures adopted and persisted in by the emperor, occasioned great commotions at Rome. The pope had several conferences on the subject with his cardinals, in which, notwithstanding his great age, he determined on a journey to Vienna. This was notified to his most dear son in Jesus Christ, Joseph, illustrious apostolic king of Hungary, also of Bohemia, king elect of the Romans, in a brief addressed to him, and given at Rome by Pope Pius VI. on the 15th of December 1781, and of his pontificate the 7th year. Joseph in his answer told his most holy father, that he should receive him with all the respect and attention due to his exalted station; but that the journey would be superfluous, as he was absolutely determined in his judgment. The journey was however undertaken; and the sovereign Roman pontiff arrived at Vienna March the 22d, where he remained till April the 22d, when he set out on his return to Rome, fully convinced that his most dear son had sent him a true answer.

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## L E T T E R XII.

Roxbury, May 23, 1782.

THE acts of Congress demand our first attention.— On the 23d of February, they resolved to authorise the commander in chief to agree to the exchange of Earl Cornwallis, by composition, provided that the honorable Henry Laurens, Esq; shall be liberated and proper assurances obtained, that all accounts for the support of the convention prisoners, and all other prisoners of war, shall be speedily settled and discharged.

The success which had attended the operation of the allied forces in Virginia, and other favorable appearances conspiring, the



the French court turned their attention toward the procuring from Congress the appointment of those American commissioners for negotiating a peace, and with those instructions, that would be perfectly agreeable to them. Sundry communications from their minister plenipotentiary were laid before that august body of delegates from the United States, which were referred to the secretary for foreign affairs, who on the 8th of February delivered in a report, part of which was agreed to, and the remainder referred to a committee. Mr. John Adams was so far from being approved of by Monsr. de Vergennes, as the sole negotiator in that important business, that the French minister labored to have him wholly excluded; and complained heavily of his stiffness and tenaciousness. Letters had passed between them upon the subject of the resolve for affixing the paper money at forty for one, which Vergennes considered as an act of bankruptcy. Mr. Adams persisted in defending the proceeding with so much resolution, that the French minister at length informed him, that the king enjoined silence for the future on the subject. The measures which had been pursued in Holland by Mr. Adams, were also displeasing, as they traversed the policy of the French court. Letters were at length sent to the French plenipotentiary at Philadelphia, expressing the opinion of his court, that they should not be able to do business in consort with Mr. Adams. When the same had been communicated to Congress, a committee was appointed to confer with the Chevalier de Luzerne on the affair. A leading person in the committee was unwilling that the American minister should be sacrificed to the displeasure of the French court, when the offence was occasioned by his zeal to serve his country. It was therefore proposed, that he should be instructed to do no one thing without the consent and approbation of the French court: but that he should attend to his former instructions, and endeavor all in his power to obtain the fishery, &c. but not to make them a *sine qua non*. This did not satisfy; for it was observed, that notwithstanding such instructions, Mr. Adams might obstruct the negotiations by not joining in them. The said person judging it would be safest to put confidence in the French, moved that Mr. Adams should be ultimately directed and guided by the sentiments of the French court, which being agreed to and communicated, satisfied the Chevalier. Afterward it was thought advisable by some of the southern delegates, that others should be joined with Mr. Adams; and accordingly Congress agreed, that the honorable John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay and Henry Laurens, should be their commissioners for negotiating a peace.— Their commissions were accompanied with the following instructions—

tions—"You are to concur in behalf of the United States, with his Most Christian Majesty, in accepting the mediation proposed by the empress of Russia and the emperor of Germany.—You are to accede to no treaty of peace, 1. which shall not effectually secure the independence and sovereignty of the Thirteen States, according to the form and effect of the treaties subsisting between the said states and his Most Christian Majesty; and 2. in which the said treaties shall not be left in their full force and validity.—As to boundaries and other particulars we refer you to the instructions given Mr. Adams, dated the 14th of August 1779, and 18th of October 1780. We think it unsafe at this distance to tie you up by absolute and peremptory directions, on any other subject than the two essential articles above-mentioned. You are at liberty to secure the interests of the United States, in such manner as circumstances may direct; and as the state of the belligerent, and disposition of the mediating powers may require.—You are to make the most candid and confidential communications upon all subjects to the minister of the king of France; to undertake nothing in the negotiation for peace or truce without their knowledge and concurrence, and ultimately to govern yourselves by their advice and opinion, endeavoring in your whole conduct to make them sensible, how much we rely on his majesty's influence for effectual support, in every thing necessary to the present security or future prosperity of the United States.—If a difficulty should occur in the course of the negotiation for peace, from the backwardness of the British to make a formal acknowledgment of our independence, you are at liberty to agree to a truce, or to make such other concessions as may not affect the substance of what we contend for, and provided that Britain be not left in possession of any part of the Thirteen United States."

The committee to whom was referred the memorial of the minister of France, were directed by Congress to communicate confidentially to the said minister, the substance of the foregoing instructions. The commissions and instructions were sent to France soon enough to admit of their being received early in May.

On Sunday the 24th of March, Captain Joshua Huddy, who commanded the troops at the block-house on Tom's river in Monmouth county, New Jersey, was attacked by a number of refugees from New York; and taken after defending himself gallantly till all his ammunition was expended. He was kept in close custody; and on Monday the 8th of April was told, "That he was ordered to be hanged." Four days after (12th) he was sent out with a party of refugees, and hanged about ten o'clock on the heights of Middletown. The following label was affixed to his breast



breast—"We the refugees, having with grief, long beheld the cruel murders of our brethren, and finding nothing but such measures daily carrying into execution—we therefore determine not to suffer without taking vengeance for the numerous cruelties, and thus begin (and I lay may those lose their liberty who do not follow on) and have made use of captain Huddy as the first object to present to your view; and further determine to hang man for man, while there is a refugee existing. Up goes HUDDY for PHILIP WHITE." Philip White was taken by a party of the Jersey people on the 30th of March, and was killed in attempting to make his escape afterward.

When this affair was made known to Gen. Washington, he proposed a number of questions, on the case of Captain Huddy, to the general officers and others, who were for retaliation. However, instead of immediately executing an officer of equal rank with Huddy upon receiving proofs of his murder, Washington wrote to Clinton, that unless the perpetrators of that deed were delivered up, he should be under the disagreeable necessity of retaliating. On the 20th, he sent a letter to congress, with the copy of a memorial from the inhabitants of the county of Monmouth, and sundry affidavits respecting the death of the captain; which produced the following resolution on the 29th—"That congress having deliberately considered the said letter and the papers attending it, and being deeply impressed with the necessity of convincing the enemies of these United States, by the most decided conduct, that the repetition of their unprecedented and inhuman cruelties, so contrary to the laws of nations and of war, will be no longer suffered with impunity, do unanimously approve of the firm and judicious conduct of the commander in chief in his application to the British general at New York, and do hereby assure him of their firmest support in his fixed purpose of exemplary retaliation." What alteration may be produced by the change of British generals, remains to be discovered. Sir Guy Carleton arrived at New York on the 5th of May, and is now commander in chief of the king's forces in America. From his tried and known humanity, it may be concluded with certainty, that no acts of barbarity will be supported by his countenance.

Negotiations were carried on the last year between some leading persons belonging to Vermont and the British in Canada and New York; which produced jealousies in the minds of several, who thought that the rulers meant to unite that country to Great Britain, contrary to the wish and without the knowledge of the inhabitants in general. Mr. Thomas Chittenden, the governor, was addressed in a letter of January the 1st, upon the subject, by

a gen.

a gentleman of the first consequence ; to whom he gave the most positive assurances, that such negotiations were so far innocent, that there never was any serious intention of joining Great Britain in their attempts to subjugate the United States. But the intercourse had undoubtedly a bad tendency ; and gave the British some ground to hope, that they should annex the people of Vermont to their interests.

General Washington wrote to Gov. Hancock on the 31st of January. The letter was upon public business, and urged the speedy, pointed and effectual compliance of the state, with the requisitions of congress for completing their battalions ; that so all the fruits of the successes of the preceding campaign might not be thrown away, by an inglorious winter of languor and inactivity. It insisted on the necessity of having a powerful army early in the field. " Soon," says the general, " might we hope to enjoy all the blessings of peace, if we could see again the same animation in the cause of our country inspiring every breast, the same passion for freedom and military glory impelling our youths to the field, and the same disinterested patriotism pervading every rank of men, as was conspicuous at the commencement of this glorious revolution." He pressed the furnishing of the recruits in season, and the establishing of checks to prevent impositions as to the quality of the men, that none might be accepted but able bodied and effective, and that it might not be attempted to impose upon them decrepid or improper men or boys as soldiers. Near the end of April he observed, that the efficient operating force of the northern army could be no more than 7,553 rank and file ; and that he should be uncandid, was he not to acknowledge, that he did not expect it would be increased by recruits in the course of the campaign to more than 10,000 fit for duty in the field. He estimated the royal force in New-York, including their established corps of provincials at 9,000, and their militia refugees and independent companies at 4000, in all 13,000 ; beside about 3,300 at Charlestown, and about 700 at Savannah.

The bank of North-America opened at Philadelphia on the 7th of January. Through the establishment of it, Mr. Morris, the financier, was enabled to support credit, and to keep things in motion till the 23d of April. Without that he must have stopped ; for the public money was exhausted, and he had not at that hour received one farthing from any state in the union. There was too much cause for complaining of a disgraceful languor in most of the governments ; and which has its origin in selfish views, party spirit or worse motives. The states were half a million of dollars in debt on this year's taxes, which had been raised

by



by anticipation on that system of credit which Mr. Morris had created. On the 14th of May he thus expressed himself in a letter to Gov. Hancock—"On the 1st of January 1782, with a heavy arrearage for 1781, unpaid on the face of the requisitions to Congress, I had to provide for a three months' expenditure, when no man would trust the public for a single dollar: your legislature knew the state of public credit as well as I did. Instead of providing money for the 1st of April, they have made no effort for that purpose which can take effect before the 1st of June. Now then let us suppose every state in the union to be as negligent, and many of them are much more so, what can gentlemen promise themselves. I apprehend the most terrible consequences. I beg you to press an immediate payment of money, the necessity of which it is not easy to conceive, nor prudent to declare." The French king allotted in December last six millions of livres to the assistance of the United States, and the financier was allowed to draw for 500,000 tournaiss monthly. This was but half he asked for; and he hopes that the other six millions may be granted, as that arrangement had been made before the arrival of the Marquis de la Fayette. The most peremptory declarations however attended that grant, that it was all the United States were to have. Previous to the receipt of the news of the grant, the financier had been obliged to hazard drafts for 500,000 livres, and to order Dr. Franklin to resell the goods bought in Holland, if he had no other means of paying the bills. He requested the minister of France, and the secretary of foreign affairs, and the secretary at war, to keep the grant from Congress, and all other persons, as much as possible, through fear that if it came to the knowledge of the several legislatures, they who had not passed their tax bills, would no longer think it necessary to pass them, and instead of exerting themselves, would hang their hopes on foreign aid.

The affairs of South Carolina and Georgia shall now be related.

General Greene's army took its position on Col. Sanders's plantation at Round O, on the 7th of last December. On the 14th, the general wrote to the American board of war—"We cannot advance upon the enemy for want of ammunition, though we have been in readiness more than ten days. I have not a quire of paper in the world, nor are there two in the army. We broil most of our meat, for want of camp kettles." On the 4th of January, he congratulated the army on the arrival of Major General St. Clair and the reinforcement under his command. Within a week after, the army moved down to Jacksonborough (about 53 miles from Charleston) so to Stono, and then on the

16th to Col. Skeriving's, on the east side of the Edisto about miles from Jacksonborough. Greene left it when the movement commenced, and crossing the Edisto, proceeded to join the light troops under cols. Lee and Laurens. He informed the secretary at war from his head quarters near Charlestown on the 23d—"I would order the returns you require, but we really have not paper to make them on, not having had for months past even paper to make provision returns, or to record the necessary returns of the army. The next day [24th] he wrote—"Since we have been in the lower country, through the difficulty of transportation we were four weeks without ammunition, while there was a plenty of this article at Charlotte. We lay within a few miles of the enemy with not six rounds a man. Had they got knowledge and availed themselves of our situation, they might have ruined us. The states here are become so tardy, as to regard representations little more than idle dreams, or an eastern tale. We may write till we are blind; and the local policy of the states, in perfect security, will counteract our wishes." The following extracts from his letters, will be the most acceptable medium of conveying his sentiments—"Jan 28th. I was well informed you had let in some prejudices to my disadvantage, such as my being more influenced by men than measures, and that in the field I had neither activity nor enterprise. However mortifying these things were, my pride would not permit me to undeceive you; and such was my situation at that time, that it would have been difficult, if not impracticable, had I attempted it. My military conduct must speak for itself. I have only to observe that I have not been at liberty to follow my own genius till lately, and here I have had more embarrassment than is proper to disclose to the world. Let it suffice to say, that this part of the United States has had a narrow escape. I was *seven months* in the field without taking my clothes off *one night*." [He only took them off to change his linen.] "Feb. 6th. You can have little idea of the confusion and disorder, which prevail among the southern states. The scenes change so fast, and the operation of law is so feeble, that it is almost impossible to give any regular tone, to any kind of business. Stores are subject to such waste, and such abuses prevail upon the lines of communication, as well as posts, that it is next to impossible to keep the public from being imposed upon. Our difficulties are so numerous, and our wants so pressing, that I have not a moment's relief from the most painful anxieties."—"Feb. 8th. The little money Mr. Morris has received from Europe, it is well known, was granted by the king of France, for the special purpose of paying the army."—"Feb. 18th. Lieut. Col. Lee

retires



retires for a time for the recovery of his health. I am more indebted to this officer than any other, for the advantages gained over the enemy in the operations of last campaign, and should be wanting in gratitude, not to acknowledge the importance of his services, a detail of which is his best panegyric."—"March 13th. A great part of our troops are in a deplorable situation for want of clothing. We have 300 men without arms; and more than 1000 are so naked, that they can only be put on duty in cases of a desperate nature. We have been all the winter in want of arms and clothing; and yet both upon the road, though neither could reach us, from the want of means for transporting our stores by land through an extensive and exhausted country."—"April 13th. The want of clothing, pay and better subsistence, and being altogether without spirits, has given a murmuring and discontented tone to the army, and the face of mutiny discovers itself. I feel much for this department. No part of Saxony, during the last war, I believe, ever felt the ravaging hand of war with greater severity, than it has been felt here. Our number is greatly inferior at present to the enemy: soon and most of the North Carolina brigade leaves us." [It has been computed that fourteen hundred widows were made by the ravaging hand of war, in the single district of Ninety Six.]—"April 22. Discontent is daily increasing, and the spirit of mutiny very prevalent. It seems to have originated in the Pennsylvania line; and the parties have endeavored to spread the contagion through the army with appearances of success. I have been able to prove the fact but on one person, whom I ordered to be shot this day. He was a sergeant and had much influence in the line. I wish this example may deter them from the execution of a scheme, which we have been dreading every night." [The scheme alluded to was that of betraying the army into the power of the enemy.]

The South Carolina representatives having been elected agreeably to the writs issued by Governor Rutledge, the general assembly met in January, at Jacksonborough, a small village on the Edisto. The governor, at the opening of the session on the 18th of the month, delivered a speech to both houses; for which he received the thanks of each in their addresses. The constitution of the state established a rotation, which made it necessary to choose a new governor. The suffrages of a majority were in favor of the former lieutenant governor Christopher Gadsden, Esq; who declined the laborious office, but continued to serve both in the assembly and council. He, with many other gentlemen, who had been delivered as exchanged in Virginia and Philadelphia, soon found their way back to South Carolina, and were chosen members

members of the legislature. The general assembly afterward elected the honorable John Mathews governor; filled up vacancies in the different departments; and re-established civil government in all its branches. Laws were then passed for confiscating the estates, and banishing the persons of the active decided friends of British government, and for amercing the estates of others, as a substitution for their personal services, of which their country had been deprived. Mr. Gadsden, notwithstanding the long confinement he had suffered in the castle of St. Augustine, and the immense loss of his property, opposed the first law, and with equal zeal and judgment contended that sound policy required to forget and forgive. Two hundred and thirty-seven persons or estates were comprehended under that law, and forty-eight under the other. Those whose submission to the British appeared to be necessary and unavoidable, and who did not voluntarily aid or abet their government, were generally overlooked. The execution of these laws induced Gen. Leslie, who commanded the royal forces in Carolina, to send a part of them to seize the negroes and other effects belonging to the whig-citizens, with the avowed intention of applying the same to the relief of the sufferers by the said laws. After a successful excursion, he wrote to Gen. Greene on the 4th of April; and beside urging the motives of humanity, policy and example, for the suspension of such procedures, proposed a meeting of commissioners on each side, whereby to lessen the devastations of war and secure inviolate the property of individuals. Greene immediately returned for answer, "that he had the honor to command the forces of the United States in the southern department; but had nothing to do with the internal police of any state." On this Leslie addressed himself to Gov. Mathews, and enclosed the letter he had addressed to Greene. The governor answered on the 12th, after delaying a while, that he might have an opportunity of investigating the truth as to certain matters advanced in Leslie's letter; and told him—"You entirely mistake my character when you suppose me to be intimidated by threats, and thereby deterred from executing the duties of the office with which the state has honored me. For be assured, Sir, the laws of this state trusted to me must and shall be carried into execution—maugre the consequences." He closed with saying—"Your proposition for suspending the operation of the confiscation act, without offering an equivalent, is inadmissible. If you have any thing serious and solid to propose on this head, I am ready to appoint commissioners on my part to meet those of yours to confer on the business." Thus ended that affair. It might have served the friends to the British



British government far more effectually, had Gen. Leslie adopted vigorous measures for their support answerable to his proclamation; and for the dispersion of the legislative body.

When the reduction of Lord Cornwallis was completed, the Pennsylvania line marched to South Carolina. This increase of force enabled Gen. Greene to detach a part of his army to Georgia. Gen. Wayne, who commanded, having previously ordered the Americans at Augusta to join him at Ebenezer, crossed the Savannah in January at Two Sisters ferry, with about 100 dragoons under Col. Anthony Walton White. He was soon after reinforced by 300 continental infantry under Lieut. Col. Posey. — The British commander in Savannah, on hearing of this irruption of the Americans, sent orders to the different posts to burn, as far as they could, all the provisions in the country, and then to retire within their works. The margin of the river Savannah, and the islands in the vicinity of it, were soon covered with smoke, and presented to the astonishing eye a grand but awful spectacle. What remained of the last year's crop was so generally destroyed, that the American forces have been since obliged to depend chiefly on South Carolina for their support.

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### L E T T E R XIII.

*Rotterdam, September 13, 1782.*

FRIEND G.

THE date of my last letter scarce admitted of its being mentioned, that Admiral Keppel was created a viscount, and Mr. Dunning baron Ashburton, and afterward made chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster.

On the 9th of April, Mr Fox brought a message from his majesty to inform the house, "That being concerned to find dissensions and jealousies prevailing among his loyal subjects in Ireland, on matters of great importance, he earnestly recommended to the house the taking of the same into their most serious consideration, in order to such a final adjustment as might give mutual satisfaction to both kingdoms." A like message was delivered to the house of lords.

Administration proceeding in this weighty business in consort with the parliament of Ireland, a message conceived in the same terms was sent by the Duke of Portland, the lord lieutenant, to  
the

the commons of that kingdom, on the 26th, immediately after his arrival, to take upon him the government. The address, to the king in consequence of it, was moved by Mr. Grattan, the great and eloquent leader of the popular party. This address, after a full and explicit assertion of the independent rights of the kingdom of Ireland, proceeded to state the causes of those jealousies and discontents which had arisen in that country, viz. the act of the sixth of George I; the power of suppressing or altering bills in the privy council; and the perpetual mutiny bill. On the ground of this address, Mr. Fox moved in the British house of commons on the 17th of May, "1. That leave be given to bring in a bill for the repeal of the act, 6. George I. cap. v.—2. That it be resolved, that it is necessary to the mutual happiness of the two countries, that a firm and solid connection, should be forthwith established by the consent of both.—3. That an address be presented to his majesty, that he may be graciously pleased to give directions for promoting the latter resolution." These motions passed without any opposition. In return for this liberal procedure of the British government, in relinquishing established claims without any stipulation whatever, the parliament of Ireland voted 100,000*l.* for the raising of 20,000 Irish seamen to serve in his majesty's navy. The sum of 50,000*l.* was also voted, "for purchasing an estate, and erecting a mansion thereon, to be settled on Henry Grattan, Esq; and the heirs of his body, as a testimony of their gratitude, for the unequalled benefits conferred by him on that kingdom." On the 11th of June, Mr. Fox brought in a bill for the repeal of the aforementioned act, which passed without a word of opposition. By that act, "the king's majesty, by and with the advice of the lords spiritual and temporal and commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, hath had, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity, to bind the kingdom and people of Ireland; and that the house of lords of Ireland, have not, nor of right ought to have, any jurisdiction to judge, affirm, or reverse any judgment, sentence, or decree, given or made in any court within the said kingdom; and that all proceedings before the said house of lords upon any such sentence or decree are, and are hereby declared to be utterly null and void to all intents and purposes whatsoever." The bill received the royal assent by commission on the first of July. It must be noted, that before the bill was brought in, the Duke of Portland went in state to the Irish house of peers on the 30th of May, to announce the concurrence of the king and parliament of Great Britain to the independent rights claimed by Ireland. On the 18th of June, the delegates



delegates of the volunteer corps of the four provinces, at their general meeting held in Dublin, resolved unanimously—"That the addresses of the Irish parliament having disclaimed any power or authority, of any sort whatsoever, in the parliament of Great Britain over this realm, we shall consider a repeal of the 6th of George I. by the British parliament, made in pursuance of the said addresses, a *complete renunciation* of all the claims contained in the said statute; and as such we will accept it, and deem it satisfactory." On the 18th of July, it was moved in the house of lords—"That this house, having the fullest confidence in the answer to their address to his majesty of the 27th of April last, cannot entertain a doubt but that the independence of the legislature of this kingdom, both as to internal and external objects, will be inviolably maintained." This motion was meant as an explicit declaration of the total independence of the Irish legislature on that of Great Britain in all cases whatsoever, and passed without a negative. Thus have the patriots of Ireland, by their judicious, steady, and temperate conduct, made the war with the United States of America subservient to the establishing of their own independency without bloodshed and devastation. Had rights somewhat similar to those which were conceded to them, been early granted to the Americans, the union of the latter with the mother country had been continued; and the enormous expenses of war, and all its concomitant miseries been avoided. When the duke of Portland put an end to the session on the 27th of July, he observed to both houses with satisfaction, that they had provided for the impartial and unbiassed administration of justice, by the act for securing the independence of the judges; that they had adopted one of the most effectual securities of British freedom, by limiting the mutiny act in point of duration; that they had secured that most invaluable of all human blessings, the personal liberty of the subject, by passing the habeas corpus act; and that they had cherished and enlarged the wise principles of toleration, and made considerable advances in abolishing those distinctions which had too long impeded the progress of industry, and divided the nation.

While measures were pursuing for establishing harmony between Great Britain and Ireland, administration applied themselves to the perfecting of those plans of œconomy and reform, for the execution of which they were pledged to the public. The bills for disqualifying revenue officers from voting in the election of members of parliament, and for rendering contractors incapable of sitting in the house of commons, passed the lower house after a feeble opposition; and though strenuously combated in the upper, were carried by very large majorities, and received the royal assent.

Mr.

Mr. Burke, while the bills were pending, brought forward afresh the great plan of reform in the civil list expenditure, which he had submitted to parliament two years before. This object in which were combined the principles of future æconomy and the abolition of great influence in both houses of parliament, was introduced by a message from the king. In the beginning of May, Mr. Burke was called to the chair of the committee, and was directed to move the house for leave to bring in a bill, to enable his majesty to pay off the debt on the civil list, to prevent the like in future, and to carry into a law the retrenchments which his majesty had graciously proposed to make in his household. A number of offices, usually held by members of parliament, were abolished; and the annual saving arising from the reform, which would be yearly increasing, amounted to 72,368*l*. He apologized for the bills not being more extensive; and engaged to obey their call, whenever it appeared to be the general sense of the house and of the people, that he should undertake and go through with a more complete system of reform.

The gentlemen's magazine for May 6th, gives you in the historical chronicle under Monday 6, the particulars of the reform; and immediately under it the following extraordinary article of reform in the house of commons—This day the entry on the journals of the house of commons of the 17th of February, 1769, importing, "that John Wilkes, Esq; was judged incapable of sitting in that house," was, on motion, ordered to be expunged, 115 to 47.—Thus has Mr. Wilkes triumphed at last in the case of the Middlesex election, after a long succession of annual defeats. Mr. Burke's reforming bill was followed by another for the regulation of his own office. The principal object of it was, to prevent the possibility of any balance accumulating in the hands of the paymaster general, which, he said, had sometimes amounted to the enormous sum of a million of pounds, the interest of which would be annually saved to the public. He also stated, that as treasurer of Chelsea hospital, he enjoyed the profits arising from the clothing of the pensioners. The profits of the contract had usually amounted to 700*l*. per annum; but by a bargain he had made with a contractor, who was not a member of parliament, it would amount to 600*l*. more. This sum of 1300*l*. a year, he meant to resign his claim to, and to appropriate it to some public service.

The subject of a reform in the constitution of parliament was not wholly abandoned; but was brought again before the house by Mr. William Pitt, who moved—"That a committee be appointed to inquire into the state of representation in parliament,

and



and to report to the house their sentiments thereon." A long debate ensued, and was ably supported by gentlemen on each side the question; but on a division the motion was rejected by a majority of 161 to 141.

While the parliament was thus employed, the ministry were not inattentive to the great object of the nation's desire, the restoration of peace; which was so far in train, that on the 1st of July a communication was opened between Dover and Calais, and four British and four French vessels were appointed to sail alternately from each port. But the day was rendered much more memorable by the death of the marquis of Rockingham, whose health had been gradually declining, and at length sunk under the increasing weight of public cares and business. This event occasioned various changes in the administration. The earl of Shelburne was appointed the marquis's successor in the treasury. Lord John Cavendish and Mr. Fox soon after resigned their offices, and were followed by the duke of Portland and others. Mr. William Pitt was made chancellor of the exchequer: Mr. T. Townshend and Lord Grantham secretaries of State. Lord Shelburne having occasion to speak on the subject of the independence of America on the 10th, said, "that his opinions were still the same; but circumstances had changed, and he now saw it was become a necessary evil, to which his country must submit to avoid a greater." On the 11th, his majesty went to the house of peers, and by his royal speech put an end to the session.

The successes of the British in the East and West Indies and in Europe, which were known long before the rising of parliament, were favorable circumstances, and tended to give stability to administration, by the public satisfaction they produced. We shall now enter upon their narrative.

The Dutch garrison of Negapatam was reinforced by a large detachment of Hyder Ally's troops, before the English company's appeared upon the coast of Coromandel. Major Gen. Monro landed on the 21st of October, and then took the command of them. He was followed by the whole corps of marines from Adm. Hughes's fleet. By the 10th of November, the breaching battery being ready, and opening at day light, the garrison soon demanded a parley and capitulated. They consisted of 8000 men; 500 were European regulars and militia. On the 2d of January the admiral sailed from Negapatam roads, and on the 4th arrived at Trincomalebay. The next day all the troops were disembarked and landed before dark. The seamen and marines immediately formed, and pushing through the gateway made themselves masters of the fort, while the governor was drawing up a capitulation.

lation. The only remaining force was a fort on the top of a high hill, which commanded the harbour and had an open communication with the ships. The commander refusing to surrender, a storming party of seamen and marines assaulted and carried it on the morning of the 11th, with little loss. Upon the surrender of Negapatam, Hyder Ally's troops evacuated all the forts and strong posts they held in the Tanjore country. This intelligence, however, was somewhat damped by the news received from Bombay at the East India house on the 28th of August, being an account of an action on the 17th of Feb. between Sir Edward Hughes and Monsi. de Suffren, in which several of the British ships suffered considerably.

When the season for naval action in the European part of the world approached, great threats were held out of the mighty effects to be produced by a combination of the whole marine force of France, Spain and Holland. It was therefore an object of the first importance to Great Britain to prevent such combination, by keeping that watch upon the Dutch fleet which would disable them from penetrating the channel in their way to Brest, the appointed place of rendezvous. A plan of operation, principally defensive, was concerted by the new admiralty, which had been just formed.

While the rest of the fleet was preparing, Adm. Barrington sailed from Portsmouth [April 13.] for the Bay, with 12 sail of the line. On the 20th a fleet was discovered, and the signal for general chase instantly thrown out. The Foudroyant, Capt. Jarvis, being a prime sailer, so far outstripped the rest, that when night came on, with hazy and blowing weather, he soon lost them entirely; but he kept a full view of the enemy, and pursued them with unremitting vigor. The chased fleet consisted of 18 sail, laden with stores and conveying a considerable number of troops, for the supply and reinforcement of the French fleet and forces in the East Indies. They had sailed from Brest only the day before, and were under the protection of the *Protecleur* and *Pegase* of 74 guns each, *L'Actionnaire* of 64, but armed *en flute*, and a frigate. The convoy was dispersed by signal, and the two French 74 gun ships having consorted, it was agreed, that as the *Protecleur* had a large quantity of money on board, she should make the best of her way; and that if fighting was inevitable, the *Pegase* should abide the consequences. A little before one in the morning Capt. Jarvis came up with and closely engaged her. The action was fierce while it lasted, but within less than an hour the *Pegase* was compelled to surrender. Soon after day light, the *Queen* man of war came in sight and took upon her the care of the disabled captured.



captured ship. The *Queen* and *Foudroyant* soon lost sight of each other in a hard gale which ensued. The next day a large man of war appeared in sight of the *Queen*. The captain, Maitland, soon pursued; and after a chase of 14 hours came up in the night with the French ship. She received his broadside, returned hers, and then struck her colours. She proved to be the *Actionnaire*; and was a valuable prize, having a great quantity of naval ordnance stores on board, beside wine, rum, provisions, and several chests of money. Ten large transports and a schooner, beside the men of war, were taken. The bad weather obliged Barrington to finish his successful cruise by returning to Britain toward the close of the month.

The naval force of France and Spain in the West Indies, soon after the reduction of St. Kitt's, amounted to 60 ships of the line; and their landforces when joined would have formed a considerable army. Jamaica had no more than six incomplete battalions of regular troops and the militia of the island to defend it; and therefore in case of an attack must have been soon subdued. The arrival of Sir George Rodney [Feb. 19.] with 12 sail of the line at Barbadoes, and his subsequent junction with Sir Samuel Hood's squadron, together with the arrival of three ships of the line from Great Britain a few days after, was providentially designed for the preservation of Jamaica.

The first object with Sir George Rodney was to intercept the convoy that sailed from Brest in February; and which was designed to supply the failure of that which was attacked by Adm. Kempenfelt. Rodney disposed of his capital ships in a line to the windward of the French islands, and formed a line of frigates still farther to windward. But the French convoy, by making the island of Desada to the northward, getting to the leeward of the British fleet, and keeping close in under the land of Guadeloupe and Dominique, had the address to escape the danger, and to arrive [March 20.] safe in Fort Royal bay, where they found the Count de Grasse.

Sir George Rodney, on finding himself disappointed, returned to St. Lucie; there to rest; take in a supply of water, stores and provisions; and keep a strict watch with his frigates on the movements of the French in Fort Royal bay. The objects of the hostile commanders were not less opposite than their interests. It was the business and design of de Grasse to avoid fighting, till he had formed a junction with the Spanish fleet under Don Solano at Hispaniola. On the other side, the salvation of the West Indies, with the whole fortune and hope of the war, depended upon Rodney's preventing the junction, or bringing on a close and decisive

cific engagement with de Grasse before it took place. The British fleet at St. Lucie amounted to 36 ships of the line: the force under de Grasse at Martinico to 34, beside two ships of the line armed *en flute* and two fifty fours, the first were not in either engagement; and the last if present acted only as frigates. The French fleet, beside a full compliment of seamen, had 5500 land forces on board. The *Ville de Paris* of 110 guns, de Grasse's own ship, carried not less than 1300 men including soldiers. The French 74's carried 900 men each. Their metal is always heavier than that of the British, in equal rates: but several of their ships were in very indifferent condition. The British had five 90 gun ships, which was their highest rate; and the French had eight of 84 and 80 guns each, beside the *Ville de Paris*. The comparative balance of the force on both sides was tolerably even; and contending fleets do not often meet upon more equal terms. The van of the British was commanded by Sir Samuel Hood, the centre by Sir George Rodney, and the rear by Adm. Francis Drake. The three divisions of the French fleet were under Count de Grasse, Mons. de Vaudreuil, and Mons. de Bougainville.

The French fleet began [April 8.] to turn out of Fort Royal harbour by break of day, with a great convoy under their protection, all bound to leeward and intending to fall down to the French or Spanish ports in Hispaniola. De Grasse, that he might avoid any encounter on his passage, meant to keep close in under the islands, till he had eluded the pursuit of the British. But their departure from the Bay, and movements, were so speedily communicated by signals from the frigates, and the British fleet was in such excellent preparation, that all the ships were clear of Gros Islet Bay by noon, and pursued with the utmost expedition; so that the French saved only a few hours, by being masters of the time of departure. The British gained sight of them under Dominique at night; and afterward regulated the pursuit by signals.

Count de Grasse formed the line of battle to windward early the next morning; and thereby afforded an opportunity to his convoy for proceeding on their course, while he remained to abide the consequences. While the count had wind enough for these movements by being further advanced toward Guadaloupe, the British fleet lay becalmed under the high lands of Dominique. The breeze at length reached the van of the latter; and the ships began to close with the French centre, while their own centre and rear were still becalmed. If de Grasse could have avoided an engagement, it must be thought that the prospect of falling



falling with his whole weight upon and entirely crushing one-third of his enemy's force, was too tempting to be resisted. The action commenced [9th.] about 9 o'clock. The attack was led by the Royal Oak, and seconded by the Alfred and the Montague. The whole division was in a few minutes closely engaged, and for more than an hour was exceedingly pressed by the superiority of the French. The *Barfleur*, Sir S. Hood's own ship, had at times seven, and generally three ships firing upon her: none of the division escaped encountering a disproportionate force.—The firm and effectual resistance, with which they sustained all the efforts of the enemy's superiority, was to the highest degree glorious. At length the leading ships of the centre were enabled to come up to their assistance. These were soon followed by Sir G. Rodney in the *Formidable*, with his seconds the *Namur* and the *Duke*, all of 90 guns: they made and supported a most tremendous fire. The gallantry of a French captain of a 74 gun ship in the rear, who having backed his main-top-sail, steadily received and bravely returned the fire of these three great ships in succession, without in the least changing his station, excited the applause and admiration of his enemies. The coming up of these several ships of the centre division, induced the French commander to change the nature of the action, that so it might not become decisive. He kept at such a distance during the remainder of the engagement, as evidenced an intention of disabling the British ships without any considerable hazard on his own side. This kind of firing produced as much effect as the distance would admit, and was well supported by both parties for an hour and three quarters longer; during all which time, the rest of the British fleet was held back, by the calms and baffling winds under *Dominique*.—About twelve o'clock, the remaining ships of the British centre came up, and the rear was closing the line: on which *de Grasse* withdrew his fleet from the action, and evaded all the efforts of the British commanders for its renewal. The French ships received much more damage than their own fire produced. Two of them were obliged to quit the fleet and put into *Guadaloupe*, which reduced the count's line to 32 ships. On the British side the *Royal Oak* and the *Montague* suffered extremely; but were capable of being repaired at sea, so as not to be under the necessity of quitting the fleet.

The British fleet lay too at night to repair damages; and the following day was principally spent in refitting, in keeping the wind, and in transposing the rear and the van, as the former (not having been engaged) was necessarily fitter for the active service of that division. Both fleets kept turning up to windward,

in the channel which separates the islands of Dominique and Guadaloupe.

On the 11th the French had weathered Guadaloupe, and gained such a distance, that the body of their fleet could only be discerned from the mast-heads of the British centre; and all hope of Sir G. Rodney's coming up with them, seemed to be at an end.— In this critical state of things, one of the French ships, which had suffered in the action, was perceived, about noon, to fall off considerably from the rest of the fleet to leeward. This sight produced signals from the British admiral for a general chase; which was so vigorous that the *Agamemnon*, and some others of the headmost of the British line, were coming up so fast with this ship that she would assuredly have been cut off before evening, had not her signals and evident danger, induced de Grasse to bear down with his whole fleet to her assistance. This movement made it impossible for the French to avoid fighting. The pursuing British ships fell back into their station; a close line was formed; and such manœuvres practised in the night, as were necessary to preserve things in their present state, and as might possibly produce casual advantage. The French also prepared for battle with the greatest resolution.

The scene of action lay between the islands of Guadaloupe, Dominique, the Saints and Marigalante; and was bounded both to windward and leeward by dangerous shores. The hostile fleets met upon opposite tacks. The battle commenced [April 12.] about seven o'clock in the morning, and was continued with unremitting fury until near the same hour in the evening. Admiral Drake's division led, and with much gallantry received and returned the fire of the whole French line; whose guns were pointed so little to the hulls, or so illy served, that Drake's leading ship, the *Marlborough*, had only three men killed and sixteen wounded by receiving the first fire of twenty-three of their ships. The British as they came up, ranged slowly along the French line, and close under their lee. Being so near every shot took effect; and the French ships being so full of men, the carnage in them was prodigious. The *Formidable*, Adm. Rodney's ship, fired near 80 broadsides, and it may be thought she was not singular. The French stood and returned this dreadful fire with the utmost firmness.— Each side fought, as if the honour and fate of their country were staked on the issue of the day.

Between twelve and one Sir G. Rodney in the *Formidable* with his seconds the *Namur* and the *Duke*, and immediately supported by the *Canada*, bore directly and with full sail athwart the French line, and successfully broke through, about three ships

short



front of the centre, where Count de Grasse commanded in the *Ville de Paris*. Being followed and supported by the remainder of his division, and wearing round close upon the enemy, he effectually separated their line. This bold push proved decisive.—The French however continued to fight with the utmost bravery, and the battle lasted till sun-set.

The moment that Rodney wore, he threw out a signal for the van to tack. Drake instantly complied; and thus the British fleet gained the wind of the French, and completed their general confusion. Their van endeavored to re-establish the line but with no success; and their rear was so entirely roused, that no hope remained of recovering its order. Hood's Division had been long becalmed and kept out of action; but his leading ships and part of his centre, as far at least as the *Barfleur* which he commanded himself, came up at this juncture, and served to render the victory more decisive on the one side, and the ruin greater on the other, while each afforded instances of the utmost courage.

Captain Inglefield, in the *Centaur* of 74 guns, came up from the rear to the attack of the *Cæsar* of 74 also. Both ships were fresh and fought bravely: but when the French captain had evidently by far the worst of the combat, he disdained yielding.—Three other ships came up successively; and he bore to be torn almost to pieces by their fire. His fortitude was inflexible. His ensign staff being shot away, he ordered his colours to be nailed to the mast; and his death only could end the contest. When the *Cæsar* struck, the mast went overboard and there was not a foot of canvass without a shot hole. The captain of the *Glorieux* did not yield till all his masts were shot away, and the ship was unable to make any defence. Captain Cornwallis in the *Canada* of 74 guns vanquished the French *Hector* of the same force; but instead of taking possession of her, left her to be pickt up by a frigate, and pushed on to the *Ville de Paris*.

Count de Grasse was nobly supported, even after the line was broken; and until the disorder and confusion became irreparable toward the evening. His two seconds, the *Languedoc* and *Couronne*, were particularly distinguished: the former narrowly escaped being taken, in her last efforts to extricate him. The *Diadem* a French 74, went down by a single broadside, in a generous exertion to save him. His ship, the *Ville de Paris*, after being already much battered, was closely layed athwart by the *Canada*, and in a desperate action of near two hours was reduced almost to a wreck. De Grasse appeared to prefer sinking, rather than strike to any thing under a flag: he might however consider the fatal effects which the striking of his flag would produce in

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the rest of the fleet. Other ships came up in the heel of the action with the *Canada*; but he still held out. At length Hood in the *Barfleur* approached him just at sun-set, and poured in a most destructive fire. The count however wishing to signalize as much as possible, the loss of so fine and favorite a ship, endured the repetition of it for about a quarter of an hour longer, when he struck his flag to the *Barfleur*, and surrendered himself to Sir Samuel Hood. It is said, that at the time there were but three men left alive and unhurt on the upper deck, and that the count was one of the three.

The *Cæsar* was unfortunately set on fire, and blew up in the night of the action. A lieutenant and 50 British seamen perished with about 400 prisoners. The *Ardent* of 64 guns, taken from the British by D'Orvilliers in the channel, was now retaken.

The advantage of close fighting with British ships and seamen was never more happily exemplified. The number of the French slain in this engagement, and that of the ninth, is computed at 3000; of the wounded at near double. The computation is the more probable as upward of 400 were killed on board the *Ville de Paris*, and between 2 and 300 in several French ships singly.—The French fleet in general was little less than ruined. The small superiority of British ships in point of number contributed nothing to the success of the day, as more of Hood's division than that difference amounted to, were prevented coming into action through the want of wind. The whole loss of the British, killed and wounded in the two actions, is stated only 1050, of which 253 were killed on the spot. Capt. Blair of the *Anson*, who had the year before distinguished himself in the action under Adm. Hyde Parker, was slain. The loss of Lord Robert Manners, son of the late Marquis of Granby, and brother to the Duke of Rutland, was universally lamented. He had performed many brilliant actions during the war, in the *Resolution* of 74 guns. He was grievously wounded; and was carried off by a locked jaw a few days after the action, on his passage to Great Britain.

Thirty-six chests of money, destined to the pay and subsistence of the troops in the designed attack on Jamaica, were found in the *Ville de Paris*. This ship had been a present from the city of Paris to Lewis XV. in that fallen state of the French marine, which prevailed toward the close of the former war. No pains or expence were spared, to render the gift worthy of that city and of the monarch to whom it was presented. Her building and fitting for sea is said to have cost 176,000*l.* sterling. It was singularly providential, that the whole train of artillery, with the battering cannon, and travelling carriages, meant for the expedition against Jamaica were on board the ships now taken.

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Sir George Rodney brought to for the night : while the French ships which escaped, made off to leeward with the utmost dispatch, and were out of sight in the morning. Some ran down to the Dutch island of Curacoa. But the greater part under Messrs. de Bougainville and de Vaudreuil, kept together and made the best of their way to Cape Francois. Sir George attempted to pursue them the next morning ; but the fleet was becalmed under Guadaloupe for three days successively after the battle, which gave the French the most favorable opportunity of escaping.— After Sir George was satisfied, that they were gone to leeward, he dispatched Sir Samuel Hood, whose division had suffered little, to the west end of Hispaniola, in hope that he might pick up some of their disabled ships. He himself followed with the rest of the fleet, to rejoin Sir Samuel off Cape Tiberoon.

Sir Samuel proceeded with such dispatch, that on the day after his departure, [April 19.] he descried five sail of French vessels between Porto Rico and Hispaniola. A general chase immediately ensued, and continued several hours, when the Valiant and the Magnificent of 74 guns each, came up with, and after a short engagement took the Jason and Caton of 64 guns each, with two frigates : a third escaped by a sudden shift of wind.

Thus the French lost eight ships of the line : six were in the possession of the British, one had been sunk, and the Cæsar blown up after her capture. Four others got into Curacoa, and the French commanders were for weeks totally ignorant of their fate : so that no less than twelve sail of the line were missing. Count de Grasse considering the extreme importance of the service in which he was employed, should have hazarded a temporary ceasure rather than have ventured the most distant risk of the whole expedition. Had he submitted to the loss of the ship which fell to leeward, instead of bearing down to her assistance, the British could not have prevented his joining Don Solano ; and the reduction of Jamaica would have been next to inevitable. That event must have exalted his prudence, and have stifled every reflection that had been pointed against his character.

The British having joined off Cape Tiberoon, and the French having no force to the windward, Sir George Rodney proceeded with the disabled ships and the prizes to Jamaica, as well for their repair, as the greater security of the island, should the combined fleet still venture upon the prosecution of their former design. Sir Samuel Hood was left with about 25 ships of the line, to keep the sea and watch the motions of the enemy.

When the news of Adm. Rodney's victory reached Great Britain, the joy it occasioned was excessive, and not without reason.

Before there was much despondency. It produced a sudden and unexpected change in the situation of the British: and, at an instant when they seemed to be nearly overwhelmed as well as surrounded by numerous and powerful enemies, gave them an additional weight as a nation, either for the accomplishment of peace or the further prosecution of the war. The admiral was created an English peer on the 19th of June, by the title of Lord Rodney.

Upon the return of Adm. Barrington's squadron, Adm. Kempenfelt sailed [May 6.] with 8 or 9 ships of the line to supply their place in the Bay; and upon intelligence being received, that the Dutch were preparing to come out of the Texel, Lord Howe proceeded with a squadron of about a dozen ships of the line to the coasts of Holland. The Dutch fleet had sailed, but information of Howe's movement induced them to return to the Texel. After cruising near a month on the Dutch coast, Howe's squadron growing very sickly, and the Dutch showing no disposition to venture out, his Lordship returned to Portsmouth, where, being joined by the ships from the Bay, every dispatch was used in preparing the fleet to oppose the designs of the combined enemy, who were soon expected at the mouth of the channel.

Count de Guichen had been for some time at Cadiz, from whence he and Don Cordova, with about 25 French and Spanish ships of the line, sailed in the beginning of June. In their progress to the northward, and while expecting to be joined by the squadron from Brest and other ports, they fell in [June 25.] with the British outward bound Newfoundland and Quebec fleets, under convoy of a 50 gun ship and some frigates. Eighteen of the convoy, laden chiefly with provisions, were taken; the ships of war with the remainder escaped.

The combined fleets being entire masters of the sea, from the mouth of the Straits to Ushant, were able to dispatch their outward bound convoys, and to receive their homeward with the utmost safety; while the British were under no small apprehension for a rich and great convoy from Jamaica under Sir Peter Parker, with only three ships of the line for its protection. Lord Howe sailed from Portsmouth early in July, accompanied with admirals Barrington, Sir J. L. Rofs, and Kempenfelt. These distinguished commanders had however only 22 ships of the line to support their designs, while the combined fleets were cruising about the chops of the channel, with more than double their force. Lord Howe kept to the westward of the enemy, in order to protect and receive the Jamaica fleet, and at the same time to avoid being forced into an engagement. By the end of July, Sir Peter Parker



ter arrived safe with his convoy, bringing Count de Graffe with him in the Sandwich of 90 guns. The count landed at Portsmouth on the 31st, amid the acclamations of a great concourse of people, who in that way expressed their approbation of his bravery. On the 14th of August, Lord Howe with part of the fleet arrived at the same port.

The protection of the homeward bound Baltic fleet, the preventing of the Dutch from sailing to the southward, and the relief of Gibraltar, were the grand naval objects that the British administration had still in view: each was of high importance.—— Several of those ships, that were in the best condition for sea, proceeded to the Downs to attend the motions of the Dutch; while the rest of the fleet were in a hasty state of equipment at Portsmouth, and were replenishing their stores for the designed expedition to Gibraltar. It was found necessary that the Royal George of 108 guns, commanded by Adm. Kempenfelt, should receive a kind of slight careen, and be laid in a certain degree upon her side, while the defects under water occasioning the examination were rectified. This operation in still weather and smooth water is attended with so little difficulty or danger, that the admiral, captains, officers and crew, continued on board; and neither guns, stores, water or provisions, were removed.

The business was undertaken [August 29th.] early in the morning, a gang of carpenters from the Dock attending for the purpose. The ship while on her side was crowded with people from the shore, particularly women, thought to be not fewer than 300, among whom were many of the wives and children of the seamen and petty officers, who were come to see their husbands and fathers. The greatest part of the crew were also on board. In this situation, about ten in the morning, the admiral being writing in his cabin, and most of the people happening then to be between decks, a sudden and unexpected squall of wind threw the ship on her side, and the gun-ports being open, she filled with water almost instantly, and went to the bottom. A victualler along side of her was swallowed up in the whirlpool, occasioned by the plunge of so vast a body in the water.

The admiral, with a number of officers, and most of those between decks perished. The guard, and those who happened to be along with them on the upper deck, were in general saved by the boats of the fleet. About 70 more were likewise saved. It is thought that from 900 to 1000 persons were lost. About 300, mostly of the ship's company, were saved. Captain Waghorne, whose bravery in the North Sea under Admiral Parker procured him the command of the ship, was saved, though severely bruised.

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The loss of the ship, though the period is critical, is not to compare with the loss of the brave men who perished in her.—Adm. Kempenfelt, though near 70 years of age, is peculiarly and universally lamented by the British. In point of professional knowledge and judgment, he was deemed one of the first naval officers in the world; and in the art of manœuvring a fleet, he was considered by their greatest commanders as unrivalled.

A letter from Sir Eyre Coote, dated Fort George, January 28, 1782, was received at Lord Shelburne's office, June the 4th. It relates, that after the action on the 1st of July, 1781, Sir Eyre marched to the northward to form a junction with the Bengal detachment. It was effected on the 3d of August. On the 27th, Sir Eyre attacked Hyder Ally posted with his army in a formidable situation. The conflict lasted from nine in the morning till near sun-set, when Sir Eyre was left in full possession of the field of battle. His loss on this occasion was heavier than on the first of July, and that of the enemy less. On the 27th of September, the two armies engaged again before four o'clock in the afternoon, and by the evening Hyder was completely routed.—When Sir Eyre was upon his return from relieving the garrison at Vellore, Hyder appeared in full force on the 13th of January, and by a distant cannonade attacked his army while crossing a marshy ground. The whole having passed the swamp, the line was formed and advanced upon the enemy, on which Hyder gave way, and retreated with precipitation. The London Gazette of July 13th, confirmed the account before received of the surrender of the Bahama Islands to the arms of Spain, on the 8th of May, by capitulation. The same day advices were received from Capt. Shirley of the *Leander*, of his having destroyed a French store ship off Senegal, valued at 30,000*l.* and of his taking five Dutch forts, mounting together 124 guns, on the coast of Africa, without any other assistance than the men belonging to his own ship. Toward the close of July, the English East India Company received from Bombay, advice of Tippoo Saib's having attacked Colonel Braithwaite on the 16th of February, and obliged him to surrender with all his force two days after: and of the French fleet consisting of 22 sail, large and small, on the 19th of February, in Pondicherry road. Tippoo Saib's success has occasioned to the English in that quarter, the loss of 2000 infantry and 300 cavalry.

The precarious state of affairs in the East Indies must be a motive with the British ministry to aim at a speedy establishment of peace. As the negotiations for it are carrying on and likely to be continued, my next letter will be from Paris.

LETTER



## L E T T E R XIII.

*Roxbury, January 30, 1783.*

THE business of retaliating the execution of Captain Huddy shall begin the present letter. General Washington having made up his mind on the subject, wrote to Brigadier Hazen at Lancaster in Pennsylvania, on the 3d of May—"You will immediately, on the receipt of this, designate by lot for the above purpose (of retaliation) a British captain who is an *unconditional* prisoner, if such an one is in your possession; if not, a lieutenant under the same circumstances, from among the prisoners at any of the posts either in Pennsylvania or Maryland. So soon as you have fixed on the person, you will send him under a safe guard to Philadelphia. I need not mention to you that every possible tenderness, that is consistent with the security of him, should be shown to the person whose unfortunate lot it may be to suffer." He received about the same time from Gen. Robertson a letter of May 1, acquainting him, that a court-martial was appointed by Sir Henry Clinton for trying the person complained of and all his abettors in the death of Huddy, and that Sir Henry had taken measures for it before he received any letter from Gen. Washington on the subject. Robertson expressed his wish, that the war might be carried on agreeable to the rules which humanity has formed, and the examples of the politest nations recommended; and proposed that they should agree to prevent or punish every breach of the rules of war within the spheres of their respective commands. The letter was accompanied with a number of papers, stating many acts of barbarity committed by the Americans; and which had been put into his hands as vindications of the enormity complained of by Washington. Robertson meant to prevail upon the latter to desist from his purpose. Washington however, in his answer of May 5, said—"So far from receding from that resolution, orders are given to designate a British officer for retaliation. But I still hope the result of your court-martial will prevent this dreadful alternative." After sincerely lamenting the cruel necessity, which alone could induce so distressing a measure in the present instance, he assured the other that he entertained his wish and acceded to his proposal. But to some parts of Robertson's letter he could not refrain from answering—"Recrimination would be useless; I forbear therefore to mention numerous instances which have stained the reputation of your arms, marked  
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the progress of this war with unusual severity, and disgraced the honor of human nature itself." When Washington was informed that Captain Apgill (a youth of nineteen) had been designated and sent forward, he wrote to Hazen on the 4th of June—"I am much concerned to find that Captain Apgill has been sent on, notwithstanding the information you had received of their being two *unconditional* prisoners of war in our possession. To remedy therefore as soon as possible this mistake, you will be pleased immediately to order, that Lieut Tumer, the officer you mention to be confined in York jail, or any other prisoner who falls within my description, may be conveyed to Philadelphia, under the same regulations and directions as were heretofore given, that he may take the place of Captain Apgill." The same day he ordered Col. Dayton of the Jersey line to permit Captain Ludlow, Apgill's friend, to go into New York with such representation as Apgill would please to make to Sir Guy Carleton; and begged of him in the mean time to treat Apgill with every tender attention and politeness (consistent with his present situation) which his rank, fortune and connections, together with his unfortunate state demanded. In a subsequent letter to the colonel he said—"I wish to have the young gentleman treated with all the tenderness possible consistent with his present situation;" and after that—"I am very willing, and indeed wish every indulgence to be granted him that is not inconsistent with his perfect security."—Captain Apgill writing to Gen. Washington, thus expressed himself—"In consequence of your orders, Col. Dayton was desirous of removing me to camp, but being ill of a fever, I prevailed on him to let me remain at his quarters (Chatham) close confined, which indulgence I hope will not be disapproved of. I cannot conclude this letter without expressing my gratitude to your excellency for ordering Col. Dayton to favor me as much as my situation would admit of, and in justice to him I must acknowledge the feeling and attentive manner in which those commands were executed." You may inquire, why was not Tumer, or some other officer, sent on to take the place of Apgill? It is not in my power to answer.

Mean while the British court-martial proceeded on the trial of Capt. Richard Lippincot, thought to be the principal in executing Captain Huddy. When it was finished, the proceedings of the court were sent to Gen. Washington by Sir Guy Carleton. It appeared in the course of the trial, that Gov. Franklin, the president of the board of associated loyalists, gave Lippincot *verbal* orders for what he did, and that the same were known and agreed to by several of the board, without being expressly opposed by any



any. The board seemed desirous of exculpating themselves wholly, and of leaving Lippincot to his fate. A paper was produced in court as being in the hand writing of Mr. Alexander, a member of the board. It mentioned that one of their associates, Philip White, was inhumanly and wantonly murdered by the guard who were carrying him to Monmouth jail. It complained of many daring acts of cruelty, perpetrated with impunity by a set of vindictive rebels, known by the designation of *Monmouth Retaliators*, associated and headed by one Gen. Forman, whose horrid acts of cruelty gained him universally the name of *Black David*. It set forth, that many of their friends and neighbours were butchered in cold blood under the usurped form of law, and often without that ceremony, for no other crime than that of maintaining their allegiance to the government under which they were born, audaciously called by the rebels treason against their states; and that their associators thought it high time to begin a retaliation: that they therefore pitched upon Joshua Huddy as a proper subject, he having been a very active and cruel persecutor of their friends, and having boasted of being instrumental in hanging Stephen Edwards, the first of their brethren who fell a martyr to republican fury in Monmouth county. Huddy, it asserted, tied the knot and put the rope about the neck of that inoffensive sufferer. The plea urged by the parties, who defended the execution of Huddy, was—"By a strange fatality the loyalists are the only people that have been treated as rebels during the unhappy war, and we are constrained by our sufferings to declare, that no efforts have been made by the government, under whose protection we wish to live, to save our brethren from ignominious deaths. The rebels punish the loyalists, under their usual distinction of prisoners of state from prisoners of war."

When the business had been fully and impartially heard and discussed, it was finished by the following declaration—"The court having considered the evidence for and against the captain, and it appearing that (although Joshua Huddy was executed without proper authority) what the prisoner did, was not the effect of malice or ill will, but proceeded from a conviction, that it was his duty to obey the orders of the board of directors of associated loyalists, and his not doubting their having full authority to give such orders, the court is of opinion that he is *not guilty* of the murder laid to his charge, and therefore acquit him."

Sir Guy Carleton, in a letter which accompanied the trial of Capt. Lippincot, declared in unequivocal terms to Gen. Washington, that notwithstanding the acquittal of the captain, he reprobated the measure, and gave assurances of prosecuting a further

ther inquiry. This changed the ground the general was proceeding upon, and placed the matter upon an extremely delicate footing. Sir Guy charged him with want of humanity in selecting a victim from among the British officers, *so early as he did.* But Sir Guy should have considered, that by the usages of war, and upon the principles of retaliation, the general would have been justified in executing an officer of equal rank with Capt. Huddy immediately upon receiving proofs of his murder, and then informing Sir Henry Clinton he had done so. The ground which the general was proceeding upon being changed, he by a letter of the 19th of August laid the whole matter before Congress for their direction. The affair being put into this train, the general sent word to Col. Dayton on the 25th, "You will leave Capt. Apgill on parole at Morristown, until further orders." The captain was admitted to his parole even within ten or twelve miles of the British lines. He was indulged with a confidence yet more unlimited, by being permitted for the benefit of his health, and the recreation of his mind, to ride not only about the American cantonments, but into the surrounding country, for several miles, with his friend and companion, Major Gordon, constantly attending him. Every military character must suppose that these indulgences flowed from the American commander in chief: which was the real case, and is not to be ascribed to the interference of Count Rochambeau. Congress referred Gen. Washington's letter and the proceedings of the British court martial upon Lippincot to a committee, who delivered in their report on the 17th of October. Ten days before, [Oct. 7.] Washington wrote in a private letter to the secretary at war—"The case of Capt. Apgill is now before Congress. Was I to give my private opinion respecting Apgill, I should pronounce in favor of his being released from his dureffe; and that he should be permitted to go to his friends in Europe." Congress delayed bringing the matter to an issue. At length the general received a letter from the Count de Vergennes, dated the 29th of July, interceding for Capt. Apgill. It was accompanied with an uncommonly pathetic one from Mrs. Apgill, the mother, to the count. Vergennes in the most polite, humane and powerful manner, pleaded her cause. "Your excellency (he said) will not read this letter without being extremely affected: it had that effect upon the king and upon the queen, to whom I communicated it. The goodness of their majesties hearts induces them to desire, that the inquietudes of an unfortunate mother may be calmed, and her tenderness reassured.—There is one consideration, Sir, which though not decisive, may have an influence upon your resolution. Capt. Apgill

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is doubtless your prisoner, but he is among those whom the arms of the king contributed to put into your hands at York Town.—Although this circumstance does not operate as a safeguard, it however justifies the interest I permit myself to take in this affair.—In seeking to deliver Mr. Apgill from the fate which threatens him, I am far from engaging you to seek another victim; the pardon, to be perfectly satisfactory, must be entire.” Washington sent copies of the letters, with one of his own of the 25th of October, to Congress. On the 7th of November, they “resolved, That the commander in chief be and he is hereby directed to set Capt. Apgill at liberty.” It afforded Gen. Washington singular pleasure to have it in his power to transmit a copy of this resolve to the captain on the 13th; and as he supposed the latter would wish to go into New York as soon as possible, he sent with it a passport for that purpose. They were accompanied with a letter, which closed with—“I cannot take leave of you, Sir, without assuring you, that in whatever light my agency in this unpleasant affair may be viewed, I was never influenced, through the whole of it, by sanguinary motives; but by what I conceived to be a sense of my duty, which loudly called upon me to take measures, however disagreeable, to prevent a repetition of those enormities which have been the subject of discussion. And that this important end is likely to be answered without the effusion of the blood of an innocent person, is not a greater relief to you than it is to, Sir, your most obedient, humble servant, George Washington.” Though the treatment Capt. Apgill met with from the general, in the various indulgences that were granted him, merited an acknowledgment after his liberation, none was offered, and the captain is thought to have been deficient in politeness.

It was not long after Sir Guy Carleton's arrival, ere he broke up the board of associated loyalists, and thereby precluded a repetition of the like enormity that had been practised on Huddy. He arrived on the 5th of May, on the 7th he wrote to Gen. Washington, and sent him some public papers, that his excellency might learn from them, the dispositions that prevailed in the government and people of Great Britain relative to the making of a peace with the Americans. How necessary this is for the United States, the following extracts, from the public and private letters of gentlemen of the first eminence, will convince you.—“May 19. Our army is perfectly naked, without pay or rum. The greatest decision and severity, has been used to prevent the consequences of a mutinous disposition which generally pervaded the troops. Its appearances are removed, but I know of no expedient that will secure the existence of this [the southern] army, unless

supplies arrive soon from Philadelphia. N. CREENE."—"Fifth-kill, May 25. Yesterday was the third day our army [under Washington] has been without provision. Every department is without money and without credit. The army could not make a march of one day, as they are without every necessary as well as provisions. Officers and soldiers are exceedingly discontented. You have doubtless heard of the premeditated revolt of the Connecticut line, happily discovered the day previous to that in which it was to have been put in execution. The ringleader was punished with death. Wherever I go I hear complaints which make me dread the most fatal consequences. The distresses of our army have arrived to the greatest possible degree. *Steuben.*"—"May 28. I am under anxiety from the want of the necessary deposits of provisions in the garrison of West Point. This is an alarming circumstance. Were the enemy to know our situation, and make a sudden attempt, what is there to save these important posts? *G. Washington.*"—"Aug. 13. For upward of two months, more than one third of our men [of the southern army] were entirely naked, with nothing but a breech-cloth about them, and never came out of their tents; and the rest were as ragged as wolves. Our condition was little better in the article of provision. Our beef was perfect carrion; and even bad as it was, we were frequently without any. An army thus clothed and thus fed, may be considered in a desperate situation. However, we have struggled through it. Our supplies of provision are better, but scanty and uncertain. Some clothing is arrived, and added to what the governor procured, renders the troops pretty comfortable; and the army very contented and easy, especially as we have it now in our power to issue rum eight times a month.—North Carolina hath had few other soldiers, than non-jurors and disaffected, and those for different terms of service. *N. Greene.*"—" [Mr. Joshua Lockwood, under the direction of Gov. Mathews, brought out of Charlestown a large quantity of the articles which were most needed in the camp. They were furnished by some of the inhabitants, who wished to make their peace with their countrymen.]—"Sept. 22. When I found the supplies of money from the states would prove so inadequate, I determined to check all other expences, and to think only of feeding the army. We have lately had an arrival of linens which the clothier says are sufficient to make thirty thousand shirts; but he is so indebted to the poor people who have worked for him, and who are starving for want of their wages, that he cannot procure credit to get them made. Money I have none. And could he run in debt still further, it would only increase the mischief, for I see no prospect



prospect of payment: *R. Morris.*—"Oct. 2. Only conceive the mortification, that even the general officers are under, when they cannot invite a French officer, a visiting friend, a travelling acquaintance, to a better repast, than stinking whisky, (hot from the still) and not always that, and a bit of beef without vegetables, will afford them. I could give anecdotes of patriotism and distress which have scarcely ever been paralleled, never surpassed in the history of mankind: but you may rely upon it; the patience and long sufferance of this [the northern] army are almost exhausted, and that there never was so great a spirit of discontent as at this instant. It is high time for a peace. Our troops have been, and still are obliged to perform services foreign to their proper duty, without gratuity or reward, more than the soldiers of any other army—for example, the immense labors expended in doing the duties of artificers, in erecting fortifications and military works; the fatigue of building themselves barracks and huts annually; and cutting and transporting wood for the use of all our posts and garrisons, without any expence whatever to the public. *G. Washington.*"—"Oct. 17. We were upon the point of trying our hands at how we could live without subsistence, as the superintendent was no longer able to fulfil his contract with the victuallers of the [northern] army, and as they relinquished it; till fortunately for us, we met with gentlemen, who for an advanced price per ration, have saved us from *starvation or disbandment* by giving a credit."—"Oct. 24. For want of money we have been obliged to relinquish a contract for subsisting the army at ten-pence a ration, and give thirteen-pence for the sake of three months credit." Even in July the demand for money was so great as to raise interest to five per cent. per month.

On the 2d of August, Sir Guy Carleton and Admiral Digby, sent out a joint letter to Gen. Washington, wherein they said—"We are acquainted, Sir, by authority, that negotiations for a general peace have already commenced at Paris, and that Mr. Grenville is invested with full powers to treat with all the parties at war, and is now at Paris in the execution of this commission.—With respect to Mr. Laurens, we are to acquaint you, that he has been enlarged and discharged from all engagements without any condition whatever; after which he declared of his own accord, that he considered Lord Cornwallis as free from his parole. We are further acquainted, that transports have been prepared in England, for conveying all the American prisoners to this country to be exchanged here; and we are directed to urge by every consideration of humanity, the most speedy exchange." When this news was known by the loyalists, such a scene of distress raged  
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through the city of New York, as is not easily described.— Those in the army tore the lappels from their coats, stamped them under their feet, and exclaimed that they were ruined for ever. Others cried out, that they had sacrificed every thing to prove their loyalty, and were now left to shift for themselves, lost both to the friendship of their king and country. On the 7th, it was earnestly recommended in the New York paper to the loyalists every where, to suspend their opinion on the present important occasion, and each to continue firm to the professions he had made of loyalty and zeal for the reunion of the empire, and to wait the issue. By such a conduct it was observed, they would preserve a claim to national regard and protection, which it would be madness to forfeit; since by giving way to the suggestions of impatience they could only disgrace themselves in the eyes of their enemies, without a shadow of advantage.

A part of the news was soon confirmed by the arrival of two cartel ships at Marblehead, with 583 Americans. By the 21st of the month a third arrived with 116 more. Your friend embraced the opportunity of talking with several as they passed by his house. The substance of what they related, follows. From the beginning of the war till they left Forton prison at Gosport, near upon 1400 had been committed, out of the whole only 120 died, and of these more by the small-pox than any other disorder. Before Gen. Burgoyne was taken, persons were not allowed to visit or relieve them. After that event the treatment was different, and former severities were mitigated. When sick they were taken exceeding good care of; and had Americans employed to nurse them. Had not agents, clerks, &c. deducted from the king's allowance, they should have done pretty well: though having no more than criminals allowance of provision, they had a very scanty support, beside which the provision was often exceeding bad. When the change of ministry took place, they were considered as prisoners of war, and had an allowance accordingly. They mentioned, that before they were sent off, the Duke of Richmond, Gen. Conway, and some other gentlemen visited them, expressed a concern for their sufferings, showed them much kindness, gave them money, very condescendingly shook hands with them and said they were brethren. They related that the Rev. Mr. Wren of Portsmouth was extremely kind to them; was like a father; procured them clothes, money, and many articles to help them under their confinement; and frequently visited and prayed with the sick. Mr. Laurens visited them; encouraged them to remain firm to their country's cause; and told them how he had suffered under his confinement. One of them who had been a prisoner at  
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New York, to express the difference between the places, declared that he had rather be imprisoned months in England than weeks at New York. They stated the number of persons who came away upon the exchange at 303, the rest having made their escape at different periods.

A few acts of Congress shall be now related.

On the 13th of May, the minister of France was admitted to a public audience, and after addressing Congress in a speech, delivered to them a letter from his Most Christian Majesty, informing them of the birth of his son the Dauphin. A suitable answer was given to the Chevalier de la Luzerne. They then ordered a letter to be written to the Commander in Chief, and to the commander in the southern department, informing them of the said event, and directed that it should be published in both armies with proper demonstrations of joy. The secretary for foreign affairs was also to inform the governors and presidents of the respective states, that the people of each state might partake in the joy. When the minister had withdrawn, the birth of the Dauphin was announced to the public by a discharge of cannon and a feu de joie of musketry. In the afternoon a dinner was provided by Congress for the chevalier and his suite; and the evening was closed with a brilliant display of fire works in the state house yard. The official notification of the Dauphin's birth was received in all places of the United States, with every mark of joy and token of respect to their great and generous ally, and to the French nation.

On the 20th of June it was concluded, that the device for an armorial achievement and reverse of the great seal for the United States in Congress assembled should be as follows—ARMS—Paleways of thirteen pieces, argent and gules; a chief, azure; the escutcheon on the breast of the American eagle displayed, proper, holding in his dexter talon an olive branch, and in his sinister a bundle of thirteen arrows, all proper, and in his beak a scroll inscribed with this motto, "E pluribus Unum."—For the CREST—Over the head of the eagle, which appears above the escutcheon, a glory, Or, breaking through a cloud, proper, and surrounding thirteen stars forming a constellation, argent, on an azure field.—REVERSE.—A pyramid unfinished. In the zenith an eye in a triangle, surrounded with a glory, proper. Over the eye the words, "Annuit Cœptis." On the base of the pyramid the numerical letters MDCCLXXVI. And underneath the following motto, "Novus Ordo Seclorum."

[Sept. 14.] They resolved that the sum of four millions of dollars, exclusive of the money which Mr. Adams may obtain by the

the loan now negotiating in Holland, be borrowed in Europe on the faith of the United States. Nine days after, they resolved, that Dr. Franklin should be informed, that notwithstanding the contents of his letters of the 25th of June, it is the direction of Congress, that he use his utmost endeavors to effect the aforesaid loan.

On the 4th of October, they resolved unanimously, that they would inviolably adhere to the treaty of alliance with his Most Christian Majesty, and conclude neither a separate peace nor truce with Great Britain; nor enter into the discussion of any overtures for pacification, but in confidence and in concert with his Most Christian Majesty.

We pass on to the southward as far as Georgia, with some account of which my last letter closed.

The British garrison at Savannah consisted of about 1000 regulars, beside a considerable number of militia, and was under the command of Brigadier Clarke. This superiority of force did not prevent Gen. Wayne's appearing often before the British lines and insulting their picquets. Three different attempts were made to surprise an advanced party of the Americans without succeeding. About the same time the American governor with his council removed from Augusta to Ebenezer. Soon after his arrival he issued a proclamation, offering to every British or Hessian soldier, who should desert from Savannah, 200 acres of land and some stock; which had the desired effect in a certain degree.

On the 21st of May, Col. Brown, at the head of a considerable party, marched out of the garrison of Savannah, with the apparent intention of attacking the Americans. Wayne, by a bold manœuvre, got between Brown and the garrison, attacked him at twelve o'clock at night, and routed his whole party. The vanguard of the Americans, consisting of 60 horse and 40 infantry, was led on, by Col. White of the cavalry, and Capt. Parker of the infantry, to a spirited charge; in which 40 of Brown's men were killed or wounded, about 20 taken prisoners, and the remainder obliged to shelter themselves in the swamps under cover of the night. The advantage was gained by the liberal use of the sword and bayonet. Orders had been previously given to depend entirely on these weapons; and to secure a punctual compliance, the flints were taken out of the musketry of the infantry. The Americans had only five privates killed and two wounded.—Though Brown proved unsuccessful, yet Gen. Greene reckons him one of the best officers belonging to the British troops.

On the 24th of June, a large body of Creek Indians, headed by a number of their most celebrated chiefs and warriors, and a British



British officer, surprised and made a furious attack upon Wayne's infantry at half an hour after one in the morning. For a few minutes they possessed themselves of his two fieldpieces, which were soon recovered. The Indians knew not how to make a right improvement of the advantages they had obtained by the surprise.— Mean while the cavalry arrived and pressed hard upon them; while Wayne exposed himself, beyond what was prudent for the chief commander, that he might reinstate matters. A smart action ensued, in which both sides fought in close quarters with swords and bayonets. The Indians displayed uncommon bravery; but having to contend with both horse and foot were completely routed. Fourteen of their number were killed, one of whom was a famous chief. The Americans had five slain and eight wounded.

The British administration having resolved upon abandoning all offensive operations in America, the scheme of evacuating the weaker posts in the United States was adopted; and that at Savannah was to be the first. When the measure was determined upon, the merchants and others, inhabitants of the place, obtained permission to apply to Wayne for the security and preservation of their persons and property. He replied to their deputies,—“that should the British garrison eventually effect an evacuation, the persons and properties of such inhabitants or others, who choose to remain in Savannah, will be protected by the military, and resigned inviolate into the hands of the civil authority, which must ultimately decide.” The merchants and inhabitants of Savannah, having sent out a second flag, Wayne at the desire of the civil authority of the state sent them for answer,—“that the merchants, not owing allegiance to the United States, will be permitted to remain a reasonable time to dispose of their goods and settle their affairs.” Major Haberham, who was charged with this message, pledged himself that they might rely, with the utmost confidence, on the terms proposed to them. The Congress on the 30th of December ratified Wayne's agreement. On the 11th of July Savannah was evacuated, and the Americans immediately took possession of it. The works and town were left perfect; for which the inhabitants are indebted to that worthy and humane officer Brigadier General Clarke.

General Leslie, under the sanction of the resolution taken by the British administration, proposed to Gen. Greene a cessation of hostilities, which was declined by the latter for want of instructions from Congress on the subject. However nothing of consequence was attempted on either side. When the evacuation of Charlestown was proposed, the merchants who came with the British

British were in a most disagreeable predicament. They had entered into extensive commercial engagements. Those of their debtors, who were without the lines, were not subject to their jurisdiction; those who were within were unable to pay. Envied with difficulties, and threatened with bankruptcy should they leave the state along with the garrison, they applied to Gen. Leslie for leave to negotiate for themselves. A deputation of the body waited on Gov. Mathews, and obtained from him permission to reside in South Carolina for eighteen months after the evacuation, with the full liberty of disposing of their stock of goods on hand, and of collecting the debts already due to them. After general orders had announced the design of evacuating Charlestown, Leslie wrote to Greene [Aug. 13.] offering full payment for rice and other provision to be sent into the town: at the same time he threatened, that if it was not granted for money, it should be taken by force without compensation. But as it was apprehended the British meant to procure large supplies for the transferring of the war to the French West India islands, the Americans could not upon any consideration assent to the advantageous offers of Leslie. Every effort was made by Greene and Mathews to restrain the intercourse between town and country on private account, though the wants of the American army made a small deviation necessary. Leslie finding it impossible to purchase, sent out parties to seize provisions near the different landings, and to bring them by water to Charlestown. This was effected in some instances before the Americans could be collected in sufficient force for the defence of their property; though a colonel (an American) in the British army had been for some months past employed, in sending the earliest intelligence, from time to time, of all the military operations, which the British concerted to the prejudice of the United States, or any part thereof. He is to continue with the British army until the close of the war. On his faithfully performing this secret service, and as a reward for his treacherous duplicity, Gen. Greene is to use all his influence with the state of South Carolina, to restore him to his fortunes, and the rights and privileges of a citizen. Should the state refuse to restore him, the general is to recommend his case to Congress for such compensation as they may think his services claim.

One of the largest parties ordered out was sent to Combahee ferry, where they arrived on the 25th of August. Brigadier Gist, with about 300 cavalry and infantry, of the continental army, was detached to oppose them. He succeeded so far as to capture one of their schooners, and in a degree to frustrate their designs.



designs. Lieut. Col. Laurens, though he had been confined for several days immediately preceding, on hearing of the expedition, rose and followed Gist. When the British and American detachments approached within a few miles of each other, Laurens being in advance with a small party of regulars and militia, engaged with a much superior force, in expectation of support from the main body in his rear. In the midst of his brave exertions he received a mortal wound. "This young gentleman was sent over to England for his education, where he endeared himself to all who knew him, by his abilities and affectionate temper. In the beginning of 1777, he joined the American army, and from that time was foremost in every danger. He was present and distinguished himself in every action of the army under Gen. Washington, and was among the foremost that entered the British lines at York Town. Those who were intimately acquainted with him, will rank his martial qualities, by which he was chiefly known, as lowest in the catalogue of his virtues. They will lament the untimely loss of a clear discerning mind, that united the solid powers of the understanding with inflexible integrity. In him, his country has lost one of its noblest and most useful citizens; his father, the kindest and most affectionate friend; and all the wretched, a generous and disinterested patron.\*"

When the long expected evacuation of Charlestown drew nigh, the inhabitants of the state apprehended, that the British army, on its departure, would carry off with them some thousands of negroes, who were within their lines. To prevent it Gov. Mathews wrote to Gen. Leslie, August the 17th, and informed him, "that if the property of the citizens of South Carolina was carried off by the British army, he should seize on the debts due to the British merchants, and to the confiscated estates, and the claims on those estates by marriage settlements, which three articles were not included in the confiscation act." Gen. Leslie proposed a negotiation, for securing the property of both parties. Commissioners were appointed in behalf both of the state and the royalists: who on the 10th of October ratified a compact on the subject, of which the following was a principal article.—

VOL. III.

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\* This character is taken from an American publication. The American commander in chief being asked whether it was just, answered—"Such parts of the drawing as have fallen under my own observations are literally so; and it is my firm belief his merits and worth richly entitle him to the whole picture. No man possessed more of the "Armor patriæ." In a word, he had not a fault that I could discover, unless intrepidity, bordering upon rashness, could come under that denomination. And this he was excited to by the purest motives."

article.—“All the slaves of the citizens of South Carolina, now in the power of Gen. Leslie, shall be restored to their former owners, as far as is practicable, except such slaves as may have rendered themselves particularly obnoxious on account of their attachment and services to the British troops, and such as had specific promises of freedom.” A consideration for the advantages of this article was made in others for the benefit of the royalists. Great were the expectations of the inhabitants, as to their soon obtaining the repossession of their property : but the compact was so far evaded as to be in a great measure ineffectual for the end proposed.

The evacuation, though officially announced by Gen. Leslie on the 7th of August, as a measure soon to be adopted, did not take place till the 14th of December, when the British troops completed their embarkation. Gen. Wayne, with the legion and light infantry, had been before their works for several days, by order of Gen. Greene. It was hinted to him from Gen. Leslie, through a certain medium, that if they were permitted to embark without interruption, every care should be taken for the preservation of the town. Wayne was directed to accede to the proposal, the British also agreeing not to fire upon the town after getting on board. The conditions being fully understood by both parties, Charlestown was evacuated and possessed without the least confusion, the American advance following close on the British rear. The governor was conducted into his capital the same day, the civil police established the day following, and on the third the town was opened for business. On the 17th the British crossed the bar and went to sea.

Thus Congress have recovered the complete possession of all the southern states. The struggle has been long and severe ; but when it is considered that the British had upward of eighteen thousand regular troops, beside several thousand militia and negroes employed for their reduction, it must appear that the progress of the American southern army has been no less honorable than important.

Several detached articles remain to be mentioned.

A gentleman of Philadelphia has favored me with the following. “At ten o'clock on Wednesday evening, October 2, Major Gen. Lee died, after being confined to his bed from the evening of the preceding Friday. His disorder was a defluxion on the lungs of three months standing, which produced something like a spurious inflammation of the lungs, accompanied with an epidemic remitting fever.—The character of this person is full of absurdities and qualities of a most extraordinary nature. His understanding was great, his memory capacious, and his fancy brilliantia



liant. His mind was stored with a variety of knowledge, which he collected from books, conversation and travels. He had been in most European countries. He was a correct and elegant classical scholar; and both wrote and spoke his native language, with perspicuity, force and beauty. From these circumstances he was, at times, a most agreeable and instructive companion. His temper was naturally sour and severe. He was seldom seen to laugh, and scarcely to smile. The history of his life is little else, than the history of disputes, quarrels and duels, in every part of the world. He was vindictive to his enemies. His avarice had no bounds. He never went into a public and seldom into a private house, where he did not discover some marks of ineffable and contemptible meanness. He begrudged the expence of a nurse in his last illness, and died in a small dirty room in the Philadelphia tavern called the Canastota-waggon, (designed chiefly for the entertainment and accommodation of common countrymen) attended by no one but a French servant, and Mr. Oswald the printer, who once served as an officer under him. He was both impious and profane. In his principles he was not only an infidel, but he was very hostile to every attribute of the Deity. His morals were exceedingly debauched. His manners were rude, partly from nature and partly from affectation. His appetite was so whimsical as to what he eat and drank, that he was at all times, and in all places, a most troublesome and disagreeable guest. He had been bred to arms from his youth; and served as lieutenant, colonel among the British, as colonel among the Portuguese, and afterward as aid de camp to his Polish majesty, with the rank of major general. Upon the American continent's being forced into arms for the preservation of her liberties, he was called forth by the voice of the people, and elected to the rank of third in command of their forces. He had exhausted every valuable treatise, both ancient and modern, on the military art. His judgment in war was generally sound.—He was extremely useful to the Americans in the beginning of the revolution, by inspiring them with military ideas, and a contempt for British discipline and valor. It is difficult to say, whether the active and useful part he took in the contest, arose from personal resentment against the king of Great Britain, or from a regard to the liberties of America. It is certain he reprobated the French alliance and republican forms of government, after he retired from the American service. He was, in the field, brave in the highest degree; and with all his faults and oddities was beloved by his officers and soldiers. He was devoid of prudence, and used to call it a *rascally virtue*. His partiality to dogs was too remarkable not to be mentioned.

mentioned in his character. Two or three of these animals followed him generally wherever he went. When the Congress confirmed the sentence of the court martial, suspending him for 12 months, he pointed to his dog, and exclaimed, "Oh! that I was that animal, that I might not call *man* my brother."—Two virtues he possessed in an eminent degree, viz. sincerity and veracity. He was never known to deceive or desert a friend; and he was a stranger to equivocation, even where his safety or character were at stake."

A disposition to misrepresent and blacken the Indians, in order to justify, or palliate the practice of cruel measures toward them, has particularly appeared in the case of the Moravian Indians, settled on the Muskingum, a branch of the Ohio; who early in the last spring suffered deeply on account of what, they thought, the peaceable spirit of the gospel required of them. The first gathering of those Indians into a degree of civil and religious order, was about 30 years ago. The place of their residence was then at Whitaloosing, on the Susquehanna, about 200 miles from Philadelphia. In a visit to that city, about the year 1756, when the province was distressed by the Indian war, they declared their particular disapprobation of war, and fixed resolution to take no part therein; apprehending it to be displeasing to the Great Being, who, as one of them expressed it, *did not make men to destroy men, but to love and assist each other*. About 13 years past, these Indians meeting with difficulty, from an increase of white settlers near them, by which spiritous liquors were brought to their towns, removed to the Muskingum; and were accompanied by some of the Moravians, who have long resided among them, carefully attended both to their civil and religious concerns, and never left them in the times of their greatest danger and difficulty. These Indians refused to take any part in the present war; notwithstanding repeated abuses on that account from other tribes, particularly those parties which passed through their towns, in their way to the American frontiers, whom they sometimes dissuaded from their hostile intentions, and prevailed upon to go back again. They also warned the inhabitants of their danger. This conduct being considered as obstructive to the hostile proceedings of the tribes at war, was at length made the plea for carrying them off. In the beginning of August, 1781, the chief of the Wyondats arrived with 220 warriors; and acquainted them, that they were come to take them away, rendering for a reason, that *they were a great obstruction to them in their war-path*. The Wyondats, after committing many outrages, about the beginning of September forced them from their three towns, in all between



3 and 400 persons. After a tedious journey in the wilderness, they arrived at a branch of Sandusky creek, where the body of them were ordered to remain. Some of their principal men were sent to the British commander at Fort Detroit, who commended them as a peaceable people, and exhorted them to remain such; but added, that many complaints had been made of them, and that they had given intelligence to his enemies, wherefore he had sent for them. He said, that his instructions had been exceeded in the ill treatment they had received, and that he would provide for them. Thus the matter rested till the spring of 1782, when these Moravian Indians finding corn scarce and dear at Sandusky, desired liberty to return to their settlements, to fetch some of their corn, of which they had left about 200 acres standing. When it was granted, many of them went, among whom were several widows with their children.

When the people at and about the Monongahela, understood that a number of Indians were at the Moravian towns, they gave out, that the intention of those people was to fall upon the back inhabitants, which ought to be prevented. Upon this about 160 men got together, and swimming their horses over the Ohio, came suddenly upon the chief Moravian town. The first person who appeared, they shot at and wounded, when coming up to him they found he was an half Indian, son to one of the Moravians by an Indian woman, who had been regularly married. They killed and scalped him, and proceeded to the town. The Indians who were mostly in the fields pulling corn, did not run off as they might, had they been conscious of any offence; but came of their own accord into the town, at the call of the white people, who at first expressed friendship to them, and soon after violently seized and bound them. The Indians who assist the missionaries in keeping good order among their people, and upon occasion gave public exhortations, are called *Helpers*. Five of the most respectable of these, and other Indians, exhorted the younger to submission and patience; telling them, that they thought their troubles in this world would soon be at an end, and they would be with their Saviour. They then sung and prayed together, till they were led out one after another, and inhumanly slaughtered; first the men and then the women. Two boys, who made their escape, related these particulars. One of them lay in the heap of the dead, in a house, and was scalped; but recovering his senses escaped. The other hid himself under the floor; was an eye-witness of this tragic scene; and saw the blood of the slain running in a stream. These Indians, before they were bound, were so sensible of their own innocence, that they informed the white people,

people, that more of their brethren were at another town, who in like manner fell a sacrifice to the barbarity of the whites. The dead bodies were afterward burned with the houses. Before their death, they were obliged to show in what part of the woods they had concealed their effects, when the Wyondats took them away. Those of the third town having some intelligence of what passed, made their escape. This is a summary of the dreadful transaction, as given by the principal leader of those that remain. The Pennsylvania Packet of April says of these white savages, "that they killed upward of 90, (but a few making their escape) about 40 of which were warriors, the rest old women and children. About 80 horses fell into the hands of the whites, which they loaded with the plunder, the greatest part furs and skins." It was for the sake of the plunder that the Indians were killed.

It is alledged, in vindication of this deliberate massacre, that 40 of these Indians were warriors preparing to attack the American frontiers: but this assertion contradicts itself; for had it been the case, they would not have brought their wives, with the widows and 34 children, who were slain with them; nor would they have suffered themselves to be thus slaughtered without making the least resistance, or killing even one of their murderers.

Soon after the death of these Indians, about 500 men, probably encouraged by this easy conquest, and in hope of plunder, assembled at the Old Mingos on the west side of the Ohio; and being equipped on horseback, set out for Sandusky, where the remaining part of the Moravian Indians resided, in order to destroy that settlement, and other Indian towns in those parts; but the Wyondats, and other Indians, having some knowledge of their approach, and being enraged at the massacre, met them near Sandusky, when an engagement ensued, in which some of the white people were killed, and several taken prisoners, among whom was the commander, Col. Crawford, and his son in law. The colonel they burnt to death in the most cruel manner; the other, with more prisoners, they tomahawked. The cruelty exercised on the colonel and the death of the prisoners, was undoubtedly owing in the main to the murder of the peaceable Moravian Indians.\*

General Washington, in August, established honorary badges of distinction, to be conferred on the non-commissioned officers and

\* The above account is extracted from some---Observations on the situation, disposition and character of the Indian natives on the American continent, by that late most excellent philanthropist of the quaker persuasion, Anthony Benezet of Philadelphia. The American papers told a different story, such as was calculated to exculpate their own people.



and soldiers of the army, who had served three years with bravery, fidelity and good conduct; and upon every one who had or should perform any singularly meritorious action. The candidate for the reward annexed to such action, was to set forth the particular fact to the commander in chief, accompanied with incontestible proof. Upon granting it, the name and regiment of the person, with the action so certified, were to be enrolled in a *book of merit*, kept in the orderly office. Men who have merited the last distinction, are to be suffered to pass all guards and sentinels, which a non-commissioned officer is suffered to pass. Military operations being suspended, the opportunity has been improved for perfecting the discipline of the army.

The court of Versailles ordered that the corps under Count de Rochambeau should go to the West Indies, in case the evacuation of New York or Charlestown should take place. In expectation that the latter would happen, the French legion marched from Richmond in Virginia, and the French army under the count from Williamsburgh, to the northward, in the beginning of July. Toward the last of October, they proceeded to the eastern states under the pretext of taking winter quarters there; but in fact with the design of embarking on board the French squadron of 15 sail of the line and 4 frigates, (which arrived under the command of the Marquis de Vaudreuil in the lower harbour of Boston, on the 10th of August) whenever the evacuation, on which the ultimate movement depended, should be sufficiently ascertained.

When Rochambeau was about leaving Williamsburgh, the city and corporation presented him with a polite and affectionate address. His answer closed with—"I feel an additional satisfaction in having fought in Virginia, under the auspices of a Virginia general, whose glory, equally celebrated in both hemispheres, shines with particular lustre in his native country." The count arrived at Gen. Washington's head quarters on the 14th of September. Soon after, the French army joined the American; and was reviewed by the commander in chief on the 20th. Affection, esteem, and cordiality, were equally visible in the countenances of the French officers and of the Americans. The four divisions of the French army arrived at Boston in the first week of December, under the command of the Baron Viomenil, who is ordered to the West Indies instead of Count de Rochambeau: the count returns to France. On the 11th, Gov. Hancock and the council gave a public dinner to the general and field officers, the Marquis de Vaudreuil and the principal officers in the fleet. The *Magnifique*, a 74 gun ship, one of the fleet, hav-

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ing been lost by accident in the harbour of Boston, Congress, desirous of testifying the sense they entertained of his most christian majesty's generous exertions in behalf of the United States, resolved on the 3d of September, to present the America, a 74 gun ship, to the Chevalier de la Luzerne for the service of the French king. The fleet sailed with the army on the 29th of December.

On the 20th of December, the celebrated Charlestown frigate, commanded by Capt. Joiner, and (according to the New York account) carrying 28 forty-two pounders mounted on her main deck, and on the quarterdeck and forecastle 12 twelve pounders, and 450 men, was taken by the British Quebec of 33 guns and Diomedé of 44, after a chase of 18 hours and a half from off the Delaware.

The demand for bibles being great and the price high, in consequence of the war, Mr. Aitken, a printer at Philadelphia, undertook and finished an American edition of the holy scriptures in English, the first of the kind. Congress on the 1st of last September, recommended it to their two chaplains (the Rev. Dr. White,\* an episcopalian, and the Rev. Mr. Duffield a presbyterian) to examine the execution of the work, and if approved, to give it the sanction of their judgment and weight of their recommendation. They reported in favor of it, that they were of opinion that it was executed with great accuracy as to the sense, and with as few grammatical and typographical errors as could be expected in a work of such magnitude. Whereupon Congress passed a resolve on the 12th of September, highly approving the pious and laudable undertaking of Mr. Aitken, and recommending his edition of the bible to the inhabitants of the United States. Notwithstanding this recommendation, should the war close in a short time, imported bibles will be sold so much cheaper, and on that account be so universally bought, that Mr. Aitken will be a considerable loser by the great expence which necessarily attended his undertaking.

This town of Roxbury has given each of the three years men whom they enlisted for the army in 1781 and 1782, a bounty of not less than fifty-six pounds five shillings sterling, hard money. The bounties given by the towns in the Massachusetts for similar purposes for the last of these years, will average 64l. 4s. 9d. sterling in cash, on every such recruit. The enormity of the sum has proved an heavy burden to numbers who have shared in the expence.

#### LETTER

\* Since ordained a bishop according to the rites, and by the hands of the bishops, of the church of England.



## L E T T E R XV.

*Paris, December 3, 1782.*

FRIEND G.

THE Dutch fleet having returned to the Texel, and the British convoy from the Baltic being out of danger, the ships sent to the Downs to attend the motions of the Dutch, returned to accompany the British fleet in their expedition to Gibraltar. Upon the junction [Sept. 11.] Lord Howe sailed from Portsmouth, with 33 ships of the line, several frigates and fire-ships, a fleet of transports, victuallers and storeships, with a body of troops on board for the relief of the garrison. He was accompanied by Adms. Barrington, Milbanke, Hood, and Sir R. Hughes, by Commodore Hotham, and an able brave set of naval officers.

After the reduction of Minorca, the Duke de Crillon was appointed captain general of the Spanish forces, and was destined to attempt the recovery of Gibraltar. No mean was neglected, nor expence spared to insure success. Ambition, honor, pride, revenge, all united in urging to the utmost exertions for the conquest of the place; and as all former ones had failed, the invention and application of such as were new became necessary. The Chevalier D'Arcon, a French engineer, was confided in as being equal to the service. A plan had been proposed by him in the latter part of the preceding year. The preparations, though vast, and extremely expensive, were nearly completed; and the reduction of the place was not only deemed certain, but the powers to be used were so prodigious and formidable, that little less than the annihilation of the fortress was expected to be the consequence of any great obstinacy of defence in the garrison. The plan of the chevalier was, to construct, from ships, floating batteries that could not be sunk or fired. They were to be secured from sinking, by the extraordinary thickness of timber, with which their keels and bottoms were to be fortified; and which was to render them proof in that respect against all external or internal violence. They were to be defended from being fired, by having their sides secured with a strong wall, composed of timber and cork, long soaked in water, and including between them a large body of wet sand; the whole of such a thickness, that no cannon ball should penetrate within two feet of the inner partition. A constant supply of water was to keep the parts exposed to fire always wet; and the cork was to act as a sponge in retaining the moisture.

Ten great ships, from 600 to 1400 tons burden, were cut down to the state required by the plan; and 200,000 feet of timber, worked into their construction. To protect them from bombs, and the men from grape or descending shot, a hanging roof was contrived, to be worked up and down by springs at pleasure.—The roof was made of a strong rope-work netting, laid over with a thick covering of wet hides: its sloping position was calculated to prevent the shells from lodging, and to throw them off into the sea, before they could take effect. The batteries were covered with new brass cannon of great weight; and about half the number of spare guns, of the same kind, were kept ready, instantly to supply the place of those which might be over-heated, or otherwise disabled. That the fire of these guns might be the more instantaneous and effective, the chevalier had contrived a kind of match, by which all the guns on the battery were to go off together. Red-hot shot from the fortrefs was what the Spaniards most dreaded. To restrain its effect there was a contrivance for communicating water in every direction. A great variety of pipes and canals perforated all the solid workmanship in such a manner, that a continued succession of water was to be conveyed to every part of the vessels; a number of pumps being adopted to the purpose of an unlimited supply. By this mean it was expected, that the red-hot shot would operate to the remedy of its own mischief, and procure its immediate extinction by cutting through the pipes.

The preparation was enormous in other respects. About 1200 pieces of heavy ordnance had been brought to the spot for the numerous intended purposes of attack by sea and land. The quantities of every kind of military store were immense. The gunpowder only is said to have exceeded 83,000 barrels. Forty gun-boats with heavy artillery, as many bomb-boats with 12 inch mortars, beside a large floating battery, and five bomb ketches on the usual construction, were appointed to second the efforts of the great battering vessels. Nearly all the frigates, and smaller armed vessels of the kingdom were assembled, to afford such aid as they might be capable of; and between 2 and 300 large boats were collected, which with those already in the vicinity, were to minister to the fighting vessels during action, and to land troops as soon as the fortrefs was dismantled. The combined fleets of France and Spain, amounting to about 50 ships of the line, were to cover and support the attack, while they heightened the terrors and magnificence of the scene.

The preparations by land were no less considerable. Twelve thousand French troops joined the Spaniards. The Duke de Crillon



Ion was assisted by a number of the best officers of both countries, and particularly of the best engineers and artilleryists of his own. The fame of these extraordinary preparations drew volunteers from every part of Europe to the camp before Gibraltar: and not only the nobility of Spain, but of other countries assembled, either to display their valor, or to gratify curiosity in beholding such a naval and military spectacle, as had scarcely been before exhibited. The Count de Artois, the French king's brother, and his cousin the Duke de Bourbon, seemed eager to immortalize their names by partaking in the glory of recovering Gibraltar to the crown of their kinsman and ally. Their arrival increased the splendour of the scene; and afforded an opportunity for the display of that politeness, and the exercise of those civilities, by which the refined manners of modern Europe, have divested war of many parts of ancient barbarity. Some packets, containing a number of letters directed to the officers in Gibraltar, having fallen into the hands of the Spaniards, were transmitted to Madrid, where they lay when the Count de Artois arrived at that capital. The prince, in the true spirit of generosity, obtained the packets from the Spanish king, and conveyed them under his own care to the camp.

The transmission of the packets to Gibraltar, afforded an opportunity to the Duke de Crillon of accompanying them with a letter to Gen. Elliot, in which besides informing him of the arrival of the French princes, and of this particular mark of attention shown by the count, he further acquainted him, that he was charged by them respectively, to convey to the general the strongest expressions of their regard and esteem for his person and character. The duke expressed his own in the most flattering terms. He also requested in the most obliging manner, that the general would accept of a present of fruit and vegetables for his own use, and of some ice and partridges for the gentlemen of his household; further entreating, that as he knew the general lived entirely on vegetables, he would acquaint him with the particular kinds which he liked best, with a view to his regular supply. The whole letter may be viewed as a model of military politeness.

General Elliot was not less polite or obliging in his answer, whether with respect to the duke himself, or to the princes. But he informed the duke, that in accepting the present, he had broken through a resolution, which he had invariably adhered to from the commencement of the war, which was, never to receive or procure by any mean whatever, any provisions or other commodity for his own private use. He declared that every thing was sold publicly in the garrison, so that the private soldier, if he had money,

money, might become a purchaser with the same facility as the governor; and that he made it a point of honor to partake of both plenty and scarcity, in common with the lowest of his brave fellow soldiers. He therefore entreated the duke, not to heap up any more favors of the same kind upon him, as he could not in future apply them to his own use.

The French princes arrived at the camp about the middle of August; and after examining the state of the preparations by land, reviewed the new and extraordinary machines contrived by the Chevalier D'Arcon: in doing it they were accompanied by all the principal commanders of both nations, whether in the land or naval service. The confidence afterward placed in the effect to be produced by these machines was extravagant; and the impatience of the combined forces both by sea and land for action became excessive. The apprehension of Lord Howe's arrival served to quicken the determinations of the Spanish court, and to accelerate the operations of the fleet and army.

While Gen. Elliot observed the gathering storm, he could obtain only some general knowledge of the mighty preparations that were making. He was utterly in the dark as to the nature, construction and mode of operation of the new invented batteries.— He provided however for every circumstance of danger which could be imagined, and for the reception of every enemy, whatever might be his mode of operation. Observing that the Spanish works on the land side were nearly completed, the general determined on trying how far a vigorous cannonade and bombardment, with red-hot balls, carcasses and shells might operate to their destruction. A powerful and well directed firing was commenced [Sept. 8.] by the garrison at seven in the morning, and supported through the day with admirable skill and dexterity. By ten, two of the Spanish batteries were in flames, and by five in the evening entirely consumed, together with their gun carriages, platforms and magazines, although the latter were bomb proof. A great part of the communications to the eastern parallel, and of the trenches and parapet for musketry were likewise destroyed, and a large battery near the bay much damaged. The enemy's works were on fire in fifty places at the same instant.

This attack appears to have been repented by the allied commanders, so as to have precipitated their measures. A new battery of 64 heavy cannon was opened by break of day the next morning, which with the cannon in their lines, and above 60 mortars, continued to pour their shot and shells upon the garrison without intermission, through the whole day. At the same time, nine ships of the line, with some frigates and smaller vessels, tak-

ing



ing the advantage of the wind, passed slowly by the works, and discharged their shot at the fourth bastion, continuing their cannonade, until they had passed Europa Point. They then formed, and came to the attack of the batteries on Europa Point, and commenced a heavy fire, which lasted till they were entirely passed.

The small British marine force at Gibraltar under Capt. Curtis, being shut up by the superiority of the enemy from exertion on their proper element, was formed into a distinct corps, under the name of the marine brigade, and Curtis held the rank and title of brigadier as their commander. The defence of the batteries on Europa point was committed to him and his corps. They discharged their trust so well, that having repeatedly struck the enemy in the first attack, the vessels were afterward kept at a safe distance.

The firing from the the isthmus was renewed on the 10th of September, and continued the succeeding days, at the rate of 6500 cannon shot and 1080 shells, in every 24 hours. The gun and mortar boats were also added to the other instruments of destruction. Their combined force produced little effect, either with respect to the loss of men in the garrison, or the damage done to the works. At length the combined fleets arrived at Algeziras, and with those already on the spot, amounted to 44 sail of the line, beside three inferior two deckers. The new invented battering vessels were likewise in readiness. Their batteries were covered with 142 pieces of new heavy brass cannon. The *Pastora*, the admiral's vessel, had 21 guns mounted and 10 in reserve. The *Prince of Nassau's* was of the same force. Thirty-six artillery men and volunteers from the Spanish and French armies were allotted to the service of each gun: these being exclusive of the officers and seamen who navigated the vessels, the whole number on board was estimated at between 6 and 7000 men. The gun and mortar boats, with the floating batteries and the bomb ketches, were to carry on their attacks in every possible direction, while the fire of the battering ships was pointed against their destined objects. By this mean, and by the fire of near 900 cannon, mortars and howitzers from the isthmus, it was intended, that, every part of the works being attacked at the same instant, and every quarter presenting a similar face of danger, the resistance of the garrison should become generally ineffective, and totally unequal to the accumulated weight and force of the grand attack.

At eight in the morning, [Sept. 13.] the ten battering ships commanded by Adm. Don Buenaventura Moreno, were put in motion, and

and proceeded to their several stations. Between nine and ten they came to an anchor, in a line from the Old to the New Mole, parallel to the rock, and from 1000 to 1200 yards distant. The admiral's ship was stationed opposite the king's bastion; and the others took their appointed places, successively and with great regularity, to the right and left of the admiral. The surrounding hills were covered with people, as though all Spain had assembled to behold the spectacle.

The cannonade and bombardment, on all sides and in all directions, from the isthmus, the sea, and the various works of the fortress, was tremendously magnificent beyond description. The prodigious showers of red-hot balls, of bombs and of carcasses, which filled the air, and were without intermission thrown from the garrison, to every point of the various attacks, both by sea and land, astonished the commanders of the allied forces; who could not conceive how Gen. Elliot had been able to construct and manage such a multitude of furnaces, as they deemed necessary for the heating of the quantity of shot thrown. The number of red-hot balls, which only the battering ships received in the course of the day, was estimated at not less than 4000. The peninsula seemed at the same time to be overwhelmed in the torrents of fire, incessantly poured upon it.

The battering ships were so well constructed for withstanding the combined powers of fire and artillery, that for several hours the continued showers of shells and hot shot with which they were assailed, were not capable of making any visible impression upon them. But about two o'clock the admiral's ship was observed to smoke. The fire, though kept under, during the day light, could not be thoroughly subdued. After a time, the Prince of Nassau's ship was discovered to be in the same condition. The disorder that took place in these two commanding ships, affected the whole line of attack; and by the evening the fire from the fortresses had gained a decided superiority. This fire was continued with equal vigor through the night; and by one in the morning, the two first ships were in flames, and several others visibly on fire. Continual signals to the fleet were sufficiently expressive of their extreme distress and danger. All means were used by the fleet to afford assistance: but as it was judged impossible to remove the battering ships, their endeavors were only directed to the bringing off the men. A great number of boats were accordingly employed, and much intrepidity was displayed in the attempts for this purpose.

Captain Curtis, to complete the general confusion and destruction, manned his twelve gun-boats with his marine brigade; and drew



drew them up in such a manner as to flank the line of battering ships. Each of his boats carried a 24 or 18 pounder, and by its low fire and fixed aim, was not a little formidable. The battering ships were soon overwhelmed by the incessant fire from the garrison, and by that, of the British gun-boats, raking the whole extent of their line. The scene was now wrought up to the highest point of calamity. The Spanish boats no longer dared to approach; but were compelled to abandon their ships and friends to the flames, or to the mercy and humanity of a heated enemy. Several of their boats and launches had been sunk before they submitted to this necessity. The day light at length appearing, two Spanish feluccas, which had not escaped with the others, attempted to get out of the danger; but a shot from a gun-boat having killed several men on board one of them, both were glad to surrender.

The horrors of the night were terrible; but the opening of the day disclosed a spectacle still more painful. Numbers of men were seen in the midst of the flames crying out for pity and help; others floating on pieces of timber, exposed to equal danger from the opposite element. Those in the ships where the fire had made a less progress, expressed in their looks, gestures and words, the deepest distress and despair; and were equally urgent in imploring assistance. The fire both from the garrison and gun-boats instantly ceased; and every danger was encountered by Captain Curtis and his marine brigade, in endeavoring to rescue the distressed enemy from surrounding destruction. In these efforts the boats were exposed to the peril arising from the continual discharge, on all sides, of the artillery, as the guns became heated to a certain degree, and from the blowing up of the battering ships as the fire reached their magazines. A more striking instance of the ardor and boldness with which the marine brigade acted, needs not be given, than that of an officer and 29 privates (all severely wounded) being dragged out from among the slain in the holds of the burning vessels, most of whom recovered in the hospital at Gibraltar.

Captain Curtis was repeatedly in the most imminent danger; particularly so when his pinnace was close to one of the largest ships at the time she blew up: while every object was for a considerable while buried in a thick cloud of smoke, Gen. Elliot and the garrison suffered the most poignant distress, considering the fate of their friend as inevitable. Thirteen officers and 344 men were saved by the exertions of the brigade. It was happy, that the greater part of the troops and seamen had been removed before Captain Curtis could make his attack with the gun boats. It

is thought however that the enemy lost 1500 men, prisoners and wounded included, in their attack by sea.

Admiral Don Moreno left his flag flying when he abandoned his ship, in which state it continued, till it was consumed or blown up with the vessel. Eight more ships blew up successively in the course of the day. The tenth was burnt by the British, there being no possibility of preserving her for service. The loss sustained by the allies on the isthmus during the attack cannot be ascertained. The loss of the garrison was nearly confined to the artillery corps and the marine brigade. From the 9th of August to the 17th of October, the whole number of non-commissioned officers and private men slain, amounted to 65, only, the wounded were 388, beside 12 commissioned officers.

Such was the signal and complete defensive victory, obtained by a comparatively handful of brave men, over the combined land and naval efforts of two great and powerful nations, who for the attainment of a favorite object, exceeded all former example, as well in the magnitude, as in the formidable nature of their preparations.

The allies were now compelled to rest their hopes of recovering Gibraltar, on the reduction of the garrison to a surrender, through the mere failure of ammunition and provisions. But this was not to be effected, unless they could defeat Lord Howe, or at least prevent his throwing in the intended relief. Mean while his lordship met with much delay, through winds and weather, on his way to Gibraltar; which was rendered exceedingly irksome, by the anxiety that prevailed relative to the fortress, under a knowledge of the menaced attack. This anxiety was not removed till the fleet had arrived near the scene of action; when advice was also received, that the united fleets, consisting of fifty sail of three and two deckers, had taken their station in the Bay of Gibraltar.

At this critical point of time, a violent gale of wind in the Straits, threw the combined fleets into the greatest disorder, and exposed them to no small danger. It happened in the night of October the 10th; and during the storm a frigate and one ship of the line were driven ashore, a second lost her foremast and bowsprit, two more were driven out of the bay to the eastward, and many others suffered more or less damage. The St. Michael, a fine Spanish ship of 72 guns, was driven under the works of Gibraltar, where she ran aground and was taken by the boats of the garrison. Her commander, with 650 seamen and soldiers, became prisoners of war. The allies discovering her as the St. Michael, threw a number of shells in hope of destroying her as she



the lay ashore. The British however got her off in three or four days, without her having suffered any essential damage.

On the morning [11th.] that succeeded the storm, the British fleet entered the Straits, in a close line of battle a-head; and about an hour after night, the van arriving off the Bay of Gibraltar, an opportunity was afforded to the store ships of reaching their destined anchorage without any molestation from the enemy; but for want of timely attention to the circumstances of the navigation, pointed out in the instructions communicated to the captains, only four of the 31 sail which accompanied the fleet effected their purpose. The rest having missed the Bay, were driven through the Straits into the Mediterranean during the night, and were no small encumbrance to the fleet in its subsequent operations.

While Lord Howe was collecting his convoy in the Mediterranean, and preparing to escort them back to Gibraltar, the enemy were under no small anxiety for the two line of battle ships, which had been driven into the Mediterranean on the night of the storm. To recover these, and in hope of intercepting, or preventing the return of the store ships, the combined fleet sailed from Algeziras on the 13th.

The British fleet was abreast of Fungarola, a large port town between Malaga and Gibraltar, when advice was received of the approach of the enemy. While, upon this intelligence, the fleet was closing and forming a line of battle, the Buffalo of 60 guns was detached with those store ships which had been collected, to the Zefarine islands, lying on the coast of Barbary, about sixty leagues above Gibraltar. The Panther, of the same force, being left in the Bay of Gibraltar for the protection of the store ships as they arrived, Lord Howe's force now amounted only to 31 sail of the line.

Near sun-set, the combined fleets were descried in great force at about six leagues distance, in line of battle with a strong wind full in their favor, and bearing directly down upon the British fleet. They amounted to 64 sail, about 42 appeared to be of the line, including several large three deckers. By day light the next morning, they were perceived close in with the land, and at such a distance as not to be visible from the deck. During their movements they had recovered the two missing ships.

In the morning it was discovered, that several transports had not proceeded with the Buffalo, and that others had joined Lord Howe in the night. Upon this account, the wind becoming favorable, the fleet proceeded in order of battle toward the Straits, and passed eighteen of the convoy safe to Gibraltar Bay. By the

18th, the vessels under the care of the Buffalo rejoined the fleet and were sent in. The two regiments on board the ships of war and frigates were landed; and the scarcity of ammunition in the garrison was removed by a supply of 1500 barrels from the fleet. Gibraltar being now fully relieved, Lord Howe concluded on taking immediate advantage of the easterly wind, which had prevailed a few days, for returning through the Straits to the westward. When he was in the entrance of the gut, and enclosed between the opposite points of Europa and Ceuta, the combined fleets appeared at no great distance to the north east, at the break of day on the 19th. They followed his lordship, and the next morning [20th.] were perceived at about five leagues distance to the windward. The British formed in order of battle to leeward.—At sun-set the enemy began a cannonade on the van and rear of Howe's fleet; but generally at such a distance as to produce little effect. Perceiving however a part of his rear much separated from the rest, they made a bolder attempt upon that division.—The French and Spanish admirals led the attack upon the separated ships, which, reserving themselves till they were within a near distance, threw in so well-timed, heavy and admirably directed a fire upon them, that the enemy were soon in evident confusion, hauled their wind and gave up the object entirely.

The distant fire of the combined fleets did much damage to the yards and rigging of several British ships: the number of men and officers killed and wounded amounted to 265; a trifling loss compared with the importance of the service in which Lord Howe had been engaged. His lordship having effected the business on which he was dispatched, and the combined fleets being at a considerable distance in the morning, apparently on their return to Cadiz, he proceeded on his way home; but while doing it he detached eight ships of the line to the West Indies, and six to the coasts of Ireland.

The existence of these events did not interrupt the negotiations for peace, carrying on at Paris. These were rather forwarded by it; as the belligerent powers were brought into a nearer equality of circumstances for treating with each other.

Mr. Jay, in consequence of his being appointed by Congress one of the commissioners to treat for peace with Great Britain, left Madrid and repaired to Paris. He and Dr Franklin were received by the Spanish ambassador, the Count D'Aranda, as ministers from Congress, when they dined with him in the beginning of July. This might be viewed by others as a public acknowledgment, on the part of Spain, of the independence of the American United States; but could not satisfy Mr. Jay, who declined



clined negotiating with D'Aranda without an exchange of commissions, though the French minister Vergennes wished him to do it. Mr. Fitzherbert and Mr. Oswald were sent over on the part of Great Britain, the former to treat chiefly with the European powers, the latter with the Americans. The commission granted to Mr. Oswald, instead of acknowledging the independence of the United States in the first instance, provided only for the acknowledgment of it in an article of the proposed treaty.—Mr. Jay objected to the commission. The Count de Vergennes thought it sufficient, and would have had him proceed: but notwithstanding the instructions of Congress, he declined complying with the count's wishes. Dr. Franklin declared himself of the same opinion with the count. Jay however was fixed; and drew up a letter, which he intended to send to Vergennes, containing his reasons for not treating with Oswald upon that commission.—When he showed it to Dr. Franklin, the doctor owned the force of his reasonings; and that he had not attended to them before, or he should not have so readily fallen in with the opinion of the French minister. Mr. Jay kept up a friendly correspondence with Mr. Adams, one of his fellow commissioners, and acquainted him with the state of affairs. They judged alike; and Mr. Adams determined not to leave Holland and repair to Paris, till Mr. Oswald had a different commission.

Mean while Mr. Adams employed himself in negotiating *A treaty of amity and commerce, between the States General of the United Netherlands, and the United States of America*, which was concluded on the 8th of October. The 10th article provides, that the vessels of either party, not having contraband goods for an enemy's port, may freely pursue their voyage; and that it shall not be required to examine the papers of vessels convoyed by men of war, but credence shall be given to the word of the officer conducting the convoy. The 24th sets forth, that under the denomination of contraband and merchandises prohibited, shall be comprehended only warlike stores and arms, as also soldiers, horses, saddles and furniture for horses. All other effects and merchandises, and even all sorts of naval matters, however proper they may be for the construction and equipment of vessels of war, or for the manufacture of one or other sort of machines of war, by land or sea, shall not be judged contraband; and may be transported from and to places belonging to the enemy, those only excepted which are nearly surrounded by some of the belligerent powers.

Mr. Jay and Mr. Oswald often conversed freely with each other, notwithstanding the objection made to the British commission;

sion; and without letting either the French minister or Dr. Franklin know of it, prepared all things as far as possible for treating officially whenever a new commission should be received. On the 10th of September, Mr. Jay had put into his hands the following copy of a translation of a letter to Count de Vergennes—“No. 225. Philadelphia, March 13, 1782. Sir, Gen. Greene affirms, that in no one state is attachment to independency carried to a higher pitch, than in South Carolina: but that this affection is yet exceeded by the hatred borne to England. Mr. Mathews, governor in the room of Mr. Rutledge, has communicated to persons of the most influence in his state, the ultimatum of the month of last, who approved of the clauses in general, and particularly that one which leaves the king master of the terms of the treaty of peace or truce, excepting independence and the treaties of commerce and alliance. Mr. S. Adams is using all his endeavors to raise in the state of Massachusetts a strong opposition to peace, if the eastern states are not thereby admitted to the fisheries and particularly to that of Newfoundland. Mr. Adams delights in trouble and difficulty. He could not have used a sifter engine than the fisheries, for stirring up the passions of the eastern people, and renewing the question that had lain dormant during his two years absence at Boston. The reigning toast in the east is—*May the United States ever maintain their right to the fisheries!* It would be dangerous informing the people through the public papers. The king however may cause to be intimated to Congress or the minister, his surprise that the Newfoundland fisheries have been included in the additional instructions; that the United States set forth therein pretensions without paying regard to the king's rights, and without considering the impossibility of their making conquests, and keeping what belongs to Britain. His majesty might cause a promise to be given to Congress of his assistance for procuring admission to the other fisheries, declaring however that he would not be answerable for the success, and that he is bound to nothing, as the treaty makes no mention of that article. The declaration being made before the peace, the hopes of the people could not be supported, nor could it one day hereafter be said, that we left them in the dark on this point. It were to be wished, that this declaration should be made, while New York, Charlestown and Penobscot are in the enemy's hands. There are some judicious persons to whom we may speak of giving up the fisheries, and the lands of the west for the sake of peace; but there are enthusiasts who fly out at this idea, and their numbers cannot fail of increasing when the English are expelled. The division is nearly equal in Congress and among



among the states; and our influence can incline the beam, either for peace or war, which ever we may choose. Let his majesty likewise cause a memorial to be delivered to Congress, wherein should be stated the use made by ministers of the powers intrusted to them by that assembly, and the impediments which may have stood in the way of a fuller satisfaction on every point. It is remarked by some, that as England has other fisheries beside Newfoundland, she may perhaps endeavor that the Americans should partake in that of the grand bank, in order to conciliate their affection, or procure them some compensation, or create a subject of jealousy between them and us; but it does not seem likely, that she will act so contrary to her own interest; and was she so to do, it will be for the better to have declared at an early period to the Americans, that their pretension is not founded, and that his majesty does not mean to support it. Barbe Marbois."

Mr. Jay told Mr. Oswald—"If Lord Shelburne means to have the United States *friends*, as he cannot have them for *subjects*, their independence must be acknowledged in the beginning.—While their independence is not acknowledged directly or indirectly, they will be obliged by the treaty to continue annexed to France till such acknowledgment is made, and so to fight the battles and promote the views of France. Independence must be acknowledged, that so the Americans may be separated from France, and a peace be accomplished: and if they were not admitted to the fishery and the western lands, there will be continual bickerings, and a friendship be prevented." Oswald was at length convinced, by frequently discoursing with Jay, that a new commission must be granted. That all future objections and difficulties might be precluded, he desired Jay to give him a draught of one, which should be fully to his satisfaction: this was done.

The first confidential secretary of Count de Vergennes drew up a memoir, which when Mr. Jay had perused he was apprehensive, that the French court would, at a peace, oppose the extension of the territory of the United States to the Mississippi, together with their claim to the free navigation of that river—would probably support the British claims to all the country above the 31 degree of latitude, and certainly to all the country north of the Ohio—and that, if America should not agree to divide with Spain in the manner proposed by Count D'Aranda, the French court would then aid Spain in negotiating with Britain for the territory she wanted, and would agree that the residue should remain to Britain. The Spanish minister had proposed, that the western line of the United States should run from a lake near the confines of Georgia, but east of Flint river, to the confluence of the Cana-

way

way with the Ohio, thence round the western shores of Lake Erie and Huron, and thence round Lake Michigan to Lake Superior. The propositions offered in the memoir by Mr. Rayneval were supposed to be the sentiments of Vergennes. Mr. Rayneval left Paris. Mr. Jay learned from good authority, that on the morning of his departure, Count D'Aranda had, contrary to his usual practice gone with post horses to Versailles, and was two or three hours in conference with Vergennes and Rayneval, before the latter set out for England. All these facts taken together, Jay conjectured that Rayneval was sent to let Lord Shelburne know, that the demands of America to be treated by Britain as independent, previous to a treaty, were not approved of or countenanced by the French court, and that the offer of Britain to make that acknowledgment in an article of the proposed treaty was in the court's opinion sufficient—to found his lordship on the subject of the fishery, and to discover whether Britain would agree to divide it with France to the exclusion of all others—to impress his lordship with the determination of Spain to possess the exclusive navigation of the gulph of Mexico, and of their desire to keep the Americans from the Mississippi, and also to hint the propriety of such a line as on the one hand would satisfy Spain, and on the other leave to Britain all the country north of the Ohio—and to make such other verbal overtures to his lordship as it might not be advisable to reduce to writing, and to judge from the general tenor of his lordship's answers and conversation, whether it was probable that a general peace in terms, agreeable to France, could be effected, that so an immediate stop might be put to the negotiation, if that was not the case.

Mr. Jay upon this sent for Mr. V——, and acquainted him that he must go over immediately to London. An express being instantly going off, Mr. V—— addressed a line to Lord Shelburne, and desired his lordship to enter into no business with Mr. Rayneval, till V—— had first seen him. Jay gave V—— all the information he wished to have communicated to his lordship; which being minuted down, V—— proceeded the next day for London. Soon after his arrival, the new commission was issued, and Mr. Oswald was empowered to treat with the United States as actually independent, and with their commissioners only. When Mr. Adams was informed of it, he left Holland.—He arrived at Paris on the 26th of October; and as soon as possible waited upon Mr. Jay. A plan was settled between them, how to proceed in the negotiation. When Dr. Franklin afterward joined them, Mr. Adams told him, that he and Mr. Jay had determined to negotiate with Mr. Oswald without consulting or being



being advised by Count de Vergennes. The doctor made no reply to it; but the next morning told them, that he would act with them in that way.

Mr. Rayneval being in company with them after his return to Paris, asked them what they demanded as to the fisheries; and was answered—"We insist on enjoying a right in common to them with Britain." The other intimated that their views should not extend further than a coast fishery; and insinuated that pains had lately been taken in the eastern states, to excite their apprehensions and increase their demands on that head. He was told that such a right was essential to them, and that their people would not be content to make peace without it. Dr. Franklin explained very fully the importance of the fisheries to the eastern states in particular. Rayneval then softened his manner, and observed, that it was natural for France to wish better to the United States than to England; but as the fisheries were a great nursery for seamen, they might suppose England would be disinclined to let others share in it, and that for his part he wished there might be as few obstacles to a peace as possible. He reminded them also, that Mr. Oswald's new commission had been issued posterior to his arrival at London.

The fisheries labored for some time. The British ministry were for excluding the Americans from fishing within three leagues of any of the coasts belonging to Britain, and within fifteen of Louisburgh. Mr. Adams told Mr. Oswald, that the New England states had no staple without the fishery—that the fisheries entered into all their trade—that were they excluded from them, the British would not be benefitted by it, for the French would get the trade—that Britain would have nothing to fear from a number of American sailors at such a distance, whatever they might have from the French who were near—that the fishermen would break through such limits, whatever care might be used to prevent it, which might prove a bone of contention, and bring on another war after a few years. Mr. Oswald made a great difficulty about acknowledging the *right* of the Americans to the fisheries; and was for inserting the word *liberty*. After a while Mr. Adams said—"They have a *right* every way. The banks are only so many leagues from the Americans, but they are so many from the Europeans; if the latter have a right by nature, certainly the former have. We have fought together with the English in their wars for the enjoyment of them, and with them we have possessed them; and therefore we have a *full right*." The word *right* was agreed to be inserted in the treaty. The article of the fishery cost the American commissioners all the industry, skill

skill and address that they were masters of. Mr. Laurens's presence with his brother commissioners the two last days was of great service. He proposed the insertion of a paragraph against carrying away any negroes or other property, belonging to the American inhabitants. He appeared deeply impressed with the loss of his son; but the venerable hero thanked God that he had such a son, one who was willing to lose his life in the cause of his country.

The American commissioners expedited the negotiation with the utmost assiduity; and on the 30th of November, provisional articles were agreed upon and signed, to take effect whenever terms of peace should be finally settled with the court of France. The business was finished so privately and unexpectedly, that ministers and ambassadors, as well as others in and about the court of Versailles, were surprised upon hearing the news. The signing of the provisional articles will probably suspend the hostile operations of France and Spain, till it is known whether a general peace can be agreed upon. They have collected their fleets at Cadiz to the amount of near forty ships of the line, which are destined for the West Indies, and are to be commanded by Count d'Estaing; who is to convoy thither several thousand French troops under the Marquis de la Fayette. Had not the American commissioners improved the precious moment that offered, without entangling themselves by consulting Count de Vergennes, the British ministry might have been changed and those events have succeeded, which would have kept the United States much longer from the possession of their independence.

We must now quit the negotiations of peace for the operations which relate to war. By the French gazette it appears, that Capt. de la Perouse, commanding a division of his Most Christian Majesty's fleet, has destroyed the settlements at Hudson's-bay. He computes the loss sustained by the Hudson's-bay Company at about 500,000*l.* sterling.

The gentlemen of the county of Suffolk proposed building a ship of the line for the use of government, and began a subscription for the purpose. The plan was to be carried into immediate execution, when twelve other counties had agreed to follow the example. There was subscribed in the whole 21067*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* The proposal answered a good purpose, as may be seen by the following extract of a letter from Wm. Middleton, Esq; to the corporation of Ipswich.—“Sept. 7. It is with singular satisfaction I can inform you, that the spirited resolve of this county, has already had its desired effect on the court of France. Mr. Fitzherbert, now at Paris, writes word, that nothing but a decisive victory at sea, could have had so striking an effect on  
that



that court, as the resolves of this and the other counties, to build ships of war by voluntary contributions, for the use of the public." But Sir James Lowther distinguished himself by a noble singularity, which few had power to follow. On the 6th of September, he waited on Lord Kepple, and after expressing his concern that county subscriptions for building men of war went on languidly, requested his lordship to present his duty to the king, and at the same time beseech his majesty to accept a man of war of the line from him, completely manned, victualled, and fitted for action. Lord Kepple, astonished at such an unexampled instance of generosity in a private gentleman, assured Sir James that his request should be instantly complied with, which it accordingly was; and the king received the offer with that mark of respect which became his majesty.

Ten men of war (including Count de Grasse's ships taken by Admiral Rodney) with a large fleet of merchantmen from Jamaica, suffered exceedingly by a tremendous gale of wind off Newfoundland on the 17th of September, and since by captures. The *Ville de Paris*, and the *Glorieux* foundered, and only one man out of the compliment of both ships escaped to tell their melancholy tale. The *Hector* also sunk; but being descried in time by a snow that made toward them, the crew were saved. The captain's name was John Hill, though his vessel was small for the purpose, yet he took on board upward of 200 men belonging to the *Hector*. He threw part of his cargo overboard to make room for them; and generously shared his provisions with them to the hazard of wanting himself. The greatness of the risk he ran appears from hence, that the last cask of water was broached on the day that land was discovered. The *Ramilles* went down, but her people were saved by the merchantmen in company. The *Centaur* was likewise lost, and all her company, except twelve, with the captain, who got into the only remaining boat. They traversed a space of near 800-miles in the Atlantic ocean, without compass or quadrant, and with a blanket for a sail. They had only two biscuits divided among them every twenty-four hours; and as much water during that space to every man, as the neck of a wine bottle broken off would hold. At the expiration of sixteen-days, when the last division of biscuit and water had been made, to their inexpressible joy they discovered the Portuguese island of Fayal, where they safely arrived at night. The American cruisers carried into L'Orient 17 of the Jamaica fleet. The whole number of prizes brought into that port by them, from the beginning of the year to the end of October, amounts to 33; exclusive of what have arrived in other ports of France.

## L E T T E R XVI.

*Paris, December 30, 1783.*

FRIEND *God* THE Governor of the Universe, to whose justice and determination all the late belligerent powers appealed, having so ordered events that peace is at length fully restored, the present letter shall close my correspondence upon affairs of a public nature.

Mr. Francis Dana, your late American resident at Petersburg, but who sailed from thence for America on the 7th of August, labored to obtain a reception in his public character; but received from the Russian minister, in answer to his application, the following declaration.—“I have to renew to you, Sir, the expression of satisfaction with which her Imperial Majesty is impressed by the mark of attention which your constituents have paid her, in sending to her a person expressly clothed with a public character; and to assure you, that she will acknowledge you with pleasure in that quality, the instant that the definitive treaties which are at the eve of being concluded, shall have been executed—her delicacy being a law to her, not to take, before that time, a step which might not be considered as corresponding with those which have characterized her strict neutrality during the course of the late war. Notwithstanding which the empress repeats, that you may enjoy not only for your own honor, but also for your countrymen, who may come into her empire on commercial business, or otherwise, the most favorable reception and the protection of the laws of nations. The conduct which the empress has held during the course of the war, sufficiently witnesses in favor of the impartiality of her sentiments, and puts an end to every discussion on that point, and ought to make you entirely easy.”

While the negotiations for peace were carrying on between Great Britain, France, Spain and Holland, news was received from the East Indies, but such as had not a favorable aspect on the British interest in that quarter. Adm. Suffrein, with twelve ships of the line, and Adm. Hughes with eleven, engaged afresh on the 12th of April, 1782. This action appears to have been the most bloody that had been fought during the war, down to that period, in proportion to the number of ships. The British had 144 killed, and 430 wounded. The French after that proceeded to land a body



a body of troops, which, being joined by some thousand Seapoys sent by Hyder Ally, invested and reduced Cuddalore on the coast of Coromandel. When the preliminary articles between Britain, France and Spain were exchanged, on the 3d of last February, further advices were received from the East Indies, giving an account, that notwithstanding a victory which Sir Eyre Coote gained over Hyder Ally on the 2d of June, 1782, the latter kept the field; and six days after, by the help of his numerous cavalry, surrounded and cut off an advanced body of the British army, and continued to harraßs it much in its march. Shortly after Sir Eyre's bad health obliged him to relinquish his command. The French fleet being fully repaired left Cuddalore, and on the 5th of July came in sight of the British at Negapatam. Sir Edward Hughes immediately put to sea. The next day [July 6.] he commenced a close action with *Mons. de Suffrein*. Both fleets suffered much, and at night anchored at no great distance from each other. In the morning the French ships sailed to Cuddalore; while the British were so damaged in their rigging that they could not pursue. *Suffrein* refitted his Squadron with the utmost expedition, put to sea the beginning of August, formed a junction with a number of French transports and some men of war, and sailed directly for Trincomale, which surrendered to him on the last day of the month. Hughes upon gaining intelligence at Madras of what was going forward, sailed instantly for the relief of the place; but did not arrive before it till the 2d of September. The next morning [Sept. 3.] *Suffrein* came out of the bay with 15 ships of the line, including 3 fifties. Hughes, with only 12, including one fifty, was ready to receive him. The engagement began about noon with great fury on each side; and continued with equal obstinacy till about seven, when the French admiral drew off, after having lost both his mizen and main-mast, and had several ships greatly damaged. He returned to Trincomale at night, but lost a 74 gun ship in re-entering the harbour. This was the fourth battle that had been fought between Sir Edward Hughes and *Mons. de Suffrein* within seven months. Never before had there been so obstinate a competition for the mastery of the Indian Ocean. Though the bravery and skill of the British admiral and sailors prevented *Suffrein's* availing himself of his superiority for the capturing of his enemy's ships, yet he displayed uncommon courage, and exerted himself in such a manner, as showed him to be an able commander and a determined foe.— About the 20th of September, Sir Richard Bickerton, with a squadron of five ships of the line, and near 5000 men, arrived at Madras.

In December last Hyder Ally died. Upon which General Mathews was ordered by the presidency of Bombay, to proceed with his whole force into the country of Canaree, in order to possess Bednore, the capital, where Hyder's immense treasures were supposed to be, together with all his magazines for war. As the place was incapable of resistance, it was delivered up to the British general upon his appearing before it, together with the province, by capitulation. The general imprisoned the Indian governor in direct violation of the articles, and committed various irregularities. After that the general besieged Mangalore, the principal sea port and marine arsenal of Hyder Ally, which surrendered on the 9th of March. Tippoo Saib, who had succeeded to his father Hyder Ally's designs as well as his power, resolved to relinquish the Carnatic; and marched with above one hundred thousand men to rescue Bednore. Gen. Mathews, tho' he had only between 2 and 3000 troops, of whom about 700 were Europeans, determined to march out of the capital, and give battle to Tippoo Saib in an open plain. The contest was short; his handful of men was totally routed with great slaughter; and he was obliged with the broken remains of his force to take shelter in the fortress, which stood upon an eminence nigh the town. After a siege of near three weeks, the garrison obtained terms from Tippoo Saib, securing their private property upon their delivering up what was public, and promising them safe conduct to Bombay. These conditions deprived them of the immense booty they had acquired, they determined upon eluding the same by dividing the treasure among themselves. Tippoo Saib, when the contrivance was discovered, considered the articles as annulled by this breach of faith; put both officers and men under confinement, and stripped them of all they possessed. When they had suffered many indignities they were sent to a fort up the country loaded with irons. The general and several officers are thought to have been put to death with circumstances of great cruelty.— The success that followed the recovery of his capital, encouraged Tippoo Saib to besiege Mangalore; and the garrison were reduced to great extremity. But they were relieved by the news of the general peace, which arrived in July.

Sir Eyre Coote went by sea to Bengal for the recovery of his health. When upon his return to Madras, he was chased forty-eight hours by two French men of war. The solicitude and fatigue he underwent in continuing nearly the whole time upon deck, occasioned a relapse. He got safe into port on the 26th of April, and died the day after his arrival, at a juncture when his abilities were greatly wanted. Though the retreat of Tippoo Saib



Saib, from the Carnatic was of eminent service; yet the presidency of Madras were not satisfied, while the French possessed Cuddalore in the neighbourhood. General Stuart, who had succeeded to the command of the British army, was ordered to reduce it. The garrison was numerous, and composed of chosen hardy veterans from among the French, and a number of Tippoo Saib's best troops, whom he had left with them. The general began to besiege the place about the beginning of June, and while he pressed it by land, Sir Edward Hughes lay off the harbor to cut off its communication by sea. But on the 20th of June, Mr. de Suffrein approached him with 17 ships of the line, two more than Sir Edward had. An engagement commenced about four in the afternoon, and lasted three hours. The French retired in the night to Pondicherry, whither the British followed them. The siege was continued till the news of a general peace in Europe put an end to all hostilities.

When the preliminary articles of peace came to be taken into consideration by the British parliament on the 17th of February, upward of 450 members were present in the house of commons. Great debates ensued, and the contest between ministry and opposition was supported with unabating fervor on each side during the whole night. When the division took place at eight the ensuing morning, the proposed ministerial address on the peace was rejected by a majority of sixteen, 208 voting for it, and 224 against it, in favor of an amendment proposed by Lord John Cavendish. Mr. Thomas Pitt, who opened the debate, and moved for the address, asserted, that from the papers on the table it appeared, that the last disgraceful war had cost the nation considerably more than the glorious war of the Duke of Marlborough, and the still more glorious war of Lord Chatham, and indeed than all the wars put together in which the nation had been engaged from the revolution to the peace of Aix la Chapelle. In the house of lords the address moved by ministry was carried in their favor by 72 votes against 59.

When the preliminary articles between Great Britain, France and Spain, were agreed upon, a suspension of arms took place with respect to Holland. But it was not till the 2d of September, that preliminary articles between the Dutch and the British were signed at Paris; by which a reciprocal restitution of all the places and territories taken on either side, Negapatam excepted, was agreed upon. The navigation of the eastern seas was also to be free and unmolested to the British shipping in all parts. These two articles are the only objects worthy of special notice. Trincomale will be restored to the Dutch by the French, agreeable to the

the declaration made by Mr. de Vergennes on the 2d of December, 1782, in his Most Christian Majesty's name, that it was his invariable intention to restore to their High Mightinesses such of their colonies as might remain in his hands, whenever the conclusion of a general peace would enable his majesty to give the republic this new mark of his affection toward it. The ratification of the preliminary articles was exchanged with the Duke of Manchester on the 29th of September by the plenipotentiaries of their High Mightinesses.

On the 3d of September, the definitive treaties between Great Britain, France and Spain, were signed at Versailles by the Duke of Manchester, and the plenipotentiaries of the said courts. On the same day, the definitive treaty with Great Britain and the United States of America was also signed at Paris, by David Hartley, Esq; the British plenipotentiary, and the plenipotentiaries of the said states. On the 10th, John Adams, Esq; wrote to you (as his own hand will inform you, should not the letter miscarry)—“I hope that private honesty will not be violated in any debt, and that as much moderation may be shown towards the Tories as possible. The stipulations should be sacred, and the recommendations at least treated with decency, and seriously considered. I cannot help saying, I wish they could be complied with.—When I agreed that Congress should recommend, I was sincere. I then wished and still wish, that the recommendation may be agreed to. This is unpopular no doubt: but treaties are solemn things, in which there should be no mental reservations. When New York and Penobscot are evacuated, the people may be cooler—it will be an ugly bone of contention, I always dreaded it, and would have avoided it, if it had been possible, but it was not.” The proper communication of this letter may produce, at least in the Massachusetts state, a degree of moderation toward the royalists, the want of which is too glaringly evident in the proceedings of your various town-meetings.

Now that the operations of war have ceased, a subject entirely novel has offered, which engages the attention and admiration of all orders of people.

It having been observed, that a ball filled with inflammable air would ascend till that and the external air of the atmosphere were in equilibrium; Mr. Montgolfier made experiments, first with a globe of linen and paper, of 105 feet circumference, and then with one of taffety done over with elastic gum, 36 feet in circumference. The ascent of both answered so fully the expectation of every one present, that Mr. Montgolfier exhibited a new trial of his aerostatic machine, alias air balloon, at the Castle de la Mu-



ette on the 23d of November in the afternoon. The balloon was 70 feet high and 46 in diameter, containing 60,000 cubic feet, and was capable of lifting up about sixteen hundred weight. It had a gallery annexed to it, wherein the Marquis d'Alandes and Mr. de Rozier placed themselves. About 54 minutes after one, the several powers by which it was held down being removed, it rose in a majestic manner, and the ærial navigators were soon out of sight. When it was at least three thousand feet high, it remained hovering in view. Its passage was such that all Paris had an opportunity of beholding it. When the travellers found they had passed the metropolis, and were over the open fields, they descended with the utmost composure, after a progress of 30,000 feet within 23 minutes. The affair was attested at five o'clock the same afternoon, by the signatures of the Duke of Polignac, the Duke of Guines, Benjamin Franklin and others. Since then Messrs. Charles and Robert undertook a similar expedition on the 1st of December. At three quarters after one, they rose with their chariot annexed to the balloon in the midst of a profound silence, occasioned by the emotion and astonishment of all parties. When they were arrived at the height of about 300 fathom, they moved in an horizontal course by regulating their ballast. After 56 minutes progress they heard the gun, which was the signal of their disappearing from the observers at Paris. They then ceased to confine themselves to an horizontal direction; and gave themselves up to the contemplation of the varied scenes in the open country beneath them. They shouted *vive le roy*, and heard their shouts re-echoed. They waved their banners, and perceived that these signals redoubled the joy and security of those below. They several times descended near enough to be heard. They reached the plains of Nesle about half after three. Their whole passage made about nine Paris leagues, which they ran over in two hours, with scarcely any sensible agitation in the air. They had not long descended to the ground, before the Duke de Chartres, the Duke Fitz-James, and a number of horsemen, who had followed them from Paris, galloped up to and joined them. How far these amusements will extend, and how long they will be followed, depends upon the safety that attends them and the taste of the public; but should they be discontinued for ages, till all traditionary traces of them are lost, they will be considered as lying legends in the faithful pages of modern history. It only remains to be mentioned, that the ministerial phenomenon, which has been exhibited to the British nation ever since the beginning of last April, in the coalition between Lord North and the honorable Charles Fox, ended the 19th of December

ber by a royal message, importing that it was the king's pleasure, that they should deliver to him the seals of their respective offices as his majesty's principal secretaries of state.

### L E T T E R XVII.

*Roxbury, June 30, 1783.*

**T**HE last year a court was constituted in pursuance of the 9th article of the confederation, to hear and finally determine the dispute between the states of Pennsylvania and Connecticut, respecting certain lands. They gave it as their opinion, that Connecticut had no right to the lands in controversy; and that the jurisdiction and pre-emption of all the territory lying within the charter boundary of Pennsylvania, claimed by Connecticut, did of right belong to Pennsylvania. Their proceedings and sentence were returned to Congress, and ordered on the 3d of January to be lodged among the acts of Congress.

The apprehensions of a speedy peace, with the sufferings of the American army under Gen. Washington, produced the last December an address and petition of the officers to the United States in Congress assembled. The contents comprehended the following articles—present pay—a settlement of the accounts of the arrearages of pay, and security for what is due—a commutation of the half-pay allowed by different resolutions of Congress, for an equivalent in gross—a settlement of the accounts of deficiencies of rations, and compensation—a settlement of the accounts of deficiencies of clothing and compensation. The signing officers on the part of the Massachusetts, the Connecticut, the New York, the New Jersey, and the New Hampshire lines, at their cantonments on Hudson's river, said—"We complain that shadows have been offered to us, while the substance has been gleaned by others. Our distresses are now brought to a point. We have borne all that men can bear—our property is expended—our private resources are at an end, and our friends are wearied out and disgusted with our incessant applications. It would be criminal in the officers to conceal the general dissatisfaction which prevails, and is gaining ground in the army, from the pressure of evils and injuries, which, in the course of seven long years, have made their condition in many instances wretched. They therefore entreat that



that Congress, to convince the army and the world, that the independence of America shall not be placed on the ruin of any particular class of her citizens will point out a mode for immediate redress." Gen. McDougall, and Colonels Brooks and Ogden, were chosen a committee to wait upon Congress. While the business was pending, certain public creditors and others at Philadelphia, were contriving how to employ the army for the establishing of continental funds. The financier, Mr. Robert Morris, or rather Mr. Gouverneur Morris, is suspected to have been at the bottom of the scheme: the latter is allowed to be a man of great abilities, but is thought to be one of the most dangerous upon the continent. Officers and soldiers were to be thrown into such a paroxysm of rage and resentment, as should drive them into the attempt of compelling Congress to comply with their own demands, and those of the public creditors, who were to arm and join them. Letters were sent to certain military persons in whom the greatest confidence was placed, that so affairs might be in readiness. Mean while reports were propagated in Philadelphia, that dangerous combinations were forming in the army: whereas the troops were apparently extremely quiet, notwithstanding their temper was very irritable on account of their long protracted sufferings. At length, upon the arrival of a particular gentleman from Philadelphia in camp, about the 8th of March, such sentiments as the following were immediately and industriously circulated—That it was universally expected that the army would not disband, till they had obtained justice—That the public creditors looked up to them for redress of their grievances, would afford them every aid, and even join them in the field if necessary—That some members of Congress wished the measure might take effect, in order to compel the public, particularly the delinquent states, to do justice. When the minds of the army were thought to be prepared by these means, anonymous invitations were circulated on the 10th of March, requesting a general meeting of the officers on the next day. At the same instant many manuscript copies of an address to the officers [though anonymous, known since to have been drawn up by Major Armstrong] were scattered in every state line of the army. It was in a peculiar manner calculated to inflame every breast, and to provoke all to unite in redressing their own grievances while they had arms in their hands. To sap the influence of the commander in chief, should he attempt to counteract the measure, they were directed to "suspect the man who would advise to more moderation and longer forbearance." As soon as Gen. Washington obtained the knowledge of these papers, after taking notice, in general orders

of the 11th, of the anonymous invitations, he requested the general and field officers, with one officer from each company, and a proper representation from the staff of the army, to assemble on the following Saturday, the 15th. This he did, "in order to rescue the foot that stood wavering on the precipice of despair, from taking, while the passions were inflamed, those steps which would have led to the abyss of misery. He acted upon the principle, that it is easier to divert from a wrong to a right path, than it is to recall the hasty and fatal steps which have been already taken." The period previous to the officers assembling, was improved by the general for softening them down. The treatment they had met with, the suspicions they had entertained of a design to trick them, the strong indications that had appeared of an inclination so to do, and other occurrences, had imbittered their spirits; so that it was with the utmost difficulty, that he could calm and bring them to a temper which promised an happy issue to the meeting he had proposed. He sent for one officer after another, and talked to them privately, setting before them the ill consequences of violent measures, and the loss of character that would follow; and brought several to their tears. Numbers were prevailed upon to relinquish their intentions, and agreed to pursue moderate measures. A second address appeared on the 12th, wherein the author artfully insinuated, that the general approved of their discussing the subject, which had been proposed by himself in the first.

When the officers were convened on the 15th, those who were for moderate measures contrived that General Gates, who was thought to be too much in favor of the reverse, should be chosen president. After that, the commander in chief addressed the meeting. The first and largest part of the speech was employed in counteracting the effects produced by the anonymous papers. His excellency thus expressed himself—"The author of the address is entitled to much credit for the goodness of his pen; and I could wish he had as much credit for the rectitude of his heart.—He was right to insinuate the darkest suspicion to effect the blackest design.—My God! what can this writer have in view by recommending such measures? Can he be a friend to the army? Can he be a friend to this country? Rather is he not an insidious foe? Some emissary perhaps, from New-York, plotting the ruin of both, by sowing the seeds of discord and separation between the civil and military powers of the continent?" He afterwards pledged himself in the most unequivocal manner to exert all his abilities in their favor; requested them to rely on the faith



faith of their country, and to place a full confidence in the purity of the intentions of Congress; and conjured them, in the name of their common country, as they valued their honor, as they respected the rights of humanity, and as they regarded the military and national character of America, to express their utmost detestation of the man, who wishes, under any specious pretences, to overturn the liberties of their country; and who wickedly attempts to open the flood gates of civil discord, and deluge their rising empire in blood.

It was happy for the army and country, that, when his excellency had finished and withdrawn, no one rose and observed,—“that General Washington was about to quit the military line laden with honor, and that he had a considerable estate to support him with dignity, but that their case was very different. Had such ideas been thrown out, and properly enlarged upon, the meeting would probably have concluded very differently. But no counterpoise being offered to the speech, the business of the day was finished to the wishes of his excellency. The meeting of officers unanimously thanked him for his address. They also resolved unanimously, That no circumstances of distress or danger should induce a conduct that might tend to sully the reputation and glory they had acquired—That the army continued to have an unshaken confidence in the justice of Congress and their country—That his excellency be requested to write to the President of Congress, earnestly entreating their speedy decision upon the subjects of the officers' address—That they view with abhorrence, and reject with disdain, the infamous propositions contained in a late anonymous address to the officers of the army.

General Washington, in a letter of the 18th, transmitted to Congress an account of what had passed at the meeting of the officers, and urged in the strongest manner their being gratified in what they had before applied for. On the 22d of March, Congress resolved that the officers should be entitled to receive to the amount of five years full pay in money, or securities on interest at six per cent. per ann. instead of half pay for life. Though this commutation was granted, the fears of the army were still alive, lest they should be disbanded or the lines be separated, before their accounts were liquidated. The commander in chief was for their being disbanded as soon as possible; but then he thought their wishes should be consulted, which he pronounced moderate in their mode, and perfectly compatible with the honor, dignity and justice, due from the country; as they only involved complete settlement and partial payment, previous to any dispersion. Three months pay at least was universally expected.

By

By the 24th of March, Congress received a letter of February 5th, from the Marquis de la Fayette, announcing a general peace, and a copy of orders given by Count D'Estaing, for the purpose of putting a stop to all hostilities by sea: hereupon they directed the marine agent immediately to recall all armed vessels cruising under commissions from the United States of America. The marquis's letter was dated from Cadiz: in it he wrote—"forty-nine ships and twenty thousand men are now here, whom Count D'Estaing was to join with the combined forces in the West Indies, and during the summer they were to co-operate with our American army. Nay, it had lately been granted, that while Count D'Estaing was elsewhere, I should enter St. Lawrence river at the head of a French corps. It is known that I ever was bent upon the addition of Canada to the United States." On the 4th of April, Captain John Derby commanding the *Astrea*, arrived at Salem from Nantz in 22 days, and brought with him a printed copy of a declaration of the American ministers, given at Paris the 20th of February, and signed John Adams, B. Franklin, John Jay. It mentions, that the ratifications of the preliminary articles of peace signed the 20th of January, between his Most Christian Majesty and the King of Great Britain, were in due form exchanged by their ministers on the 3d of February; from which day the several terms specified for the cessation of hostilities are to be computed relative to all British and American vessels and effects. Thus the same captain, who carried to Great Britain the first news of actual hostilities at Lexington, brought to the Massachusetts the first news of the ratifications of the articles of peace being exchanged.

A copy of the articles for concluding a general peace between Great Britain and America, being received from Philadelphia, were published together with the declaration in the Boston papers of the 10th of April. The people at large are now fully gratified with the knowledge of all the particulars, expressed in the following words,

*Articles agreed upon, by and between Richard Oswald, Esquire, the commissioner of his Britannic Majesty for treating of peace with the commissioners of the United States of America, in behalf of his said majesty, on the one part; and John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens, four of the said commissioners of the said States for treating of peace with the commissioner of his said majesty, on their behalf, on the other part: to be inserted in, and to constitute the treaty of peace proposed to be concluded between the crown of Great Britain, and the*



*the said United States; but which treaty is not to be concluded until terms of a peace shall be agreed upon between Great Britain and France, and his Britannic Majesty shall be ready to conclude such treaty accordingly.*

WHEREAS reciprocal advantages and mutual convenience are found by experience to form the only permanent foundation of peace and friendship between states; it is agreed to form the articles of the proposed treaty on such principles of liberal equity and reciprocity, as that partial advantages (those seeds of discord) being excluded, such a beneficial and satisfactory intercourse between the two countries may be established, as to promise and secure to both perpetual peace and harmony.

ARTICLE I. His Britannic Majesty acknowledges the said United States, viz. New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, to be free, sovereign, and independent states; that he treats with them as such; and for himself, his heirs and successors, relinquishes all claims to the government, propriety and territorial rights of the same, and every part thereof; and that all disputes which might arise in future, on the subject of the boundaries of the said United States may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared, that the following are, and shall be their boundaries, viz.

ARTICLE II. From the north-west angle of Nova-Scotia, viz. that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north, from the source of St. Croix river to the Highlands, along the said Highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river Saint Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, to the north-western-most head of Connecticut river; thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude: from thence by a line due west on said latitude until it strikes the river Iroquois or Cataraguy; thence along the middle of said river into lake Ontario; through the middle of said lake, until it strikes the communication by water between that lake and lake Erie; thence along the middle of said communication into lake Erie; through the middle of said lake, until it arrives at the water-communication between that lake and lake Huron; thence along the middle of said water-communication into the lake Huron; thence through the middle of said lake to the water-communication between that lake and lake Superior; thence through lake Superior, northward of the isles Royal and Phelipeaux, to the Long Lake; thence through the middle of  
said

saïd Long Lake, and the water-communication between it and the Lake of the Woods, to the saïd Lake of the Woods; thence thro' the saïd lake to the most north-western point thereof, and from thence on a due west course to the river Mississippi; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the saïd river Mississippi, until it shall intersect the northernmost part of the 31 degree of north latitude:—south by a line to be drawn due east from the determination of the line last-mentioned, in the latitude of 31 degrees north of the equator, to the middle of the river Apalachicola or Catahouche; thence along the middle thereof to its junction with the Flint river; thence straight to the head of St. Mary's river, and thence down along the middle of St. Mary's river, to the Atlantic Ocean: east by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river St. Croix from its mouth in the Bay of Fundy to its source; and from its source directly north to the aforesaid Highlands, which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic Ocean, from those which fall into the river St. Lawrence; comprehending all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due east from the points where the aforesaid boundaries between Nova-Scotia on the one part, and East-Florida on the other, shall respectively touch the Bay of Fundy, and the Atlantic Ocean; excepting such islands as now are, or heretofore have been, within the limits of the saïd province of Nova-Scotia.

ARTICLE III. It is agreed, that the people of the United States shall continue to enjoy, unmolested, the right to take fish of every kind on the Grand Bank; and on all other banks of Newfoundland; also in the gulph of St. Lawrence, and at all other places in the sea, where the inhabitants of both countries used at any time heretofore to fish. And also that the inhabitants of the United States shall have liberty to take fish of every kind on such part of the coast of Newfoundland, as British fishermen shall use (but not to dry or cure the same on that island) and also on the coasts, bays, and creeks of all other of his Britannic majesty's dominions in America; and that the American fishermen shall have liberty to dry and cure fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbours, and creeks of Nova-Scotia, Magdalen islands, and Labrador, so long as the same shall remain unsettled; but so soon as the same, or either of them, shall be settled, it shall not be lawful for the saïd fishermen to dry or cure fish at such settlement, without a previous agreement for that purpose with the inhabitants, proprietors or possessors of the ground.

ARTICLE IV. It is agreed, that creditors on either side shall meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value in sterling money of all *bona fide* debts heretofore contracted.

ARTICLE



ARTICLE V. It is agreed, that the Congress shall earnestly recommend it to the legislatures of the respective states, to provide for the restitution of all estates, rights and properties, which have been confiscated, belonging to real British subjects: and also of the estates, rights and properties of persons resident in districts in the possession of his majesty's arms, and who have not born arms against the said United States: and that persons of any other description shall have free liberty to go to any part or parts of any of the Thirteen United States, and therein to remain twelve months unmolested in their endeavours to obtain the restitution of such of their estates, rights and properties, as may have been confiscated: and that Congress shall also earnestly recommend to the several states a reconsideration and revision of all acts or laws regarding the premises, so as to render the said laws or acts perfectly consistent, not only with justice and equity, but with that spirit of conciliation, which, on the return of the blessings of peace, should universally prevail.—AND that Congress shall also earnestly recommend to the several states, that the estates, rights and properties of such last-mentioned persons shall be restored to them, they refunding to any persons who may be now in possession, the *bona fide* price (where any has been given) which such persons may have paid on purchasing any of the said lands, rights or properties, since the confiscation.—AND it is agreed, that all persons who have any interest in confiscated lands, either by debts, marriage settlements or otherwise, shall meet with no lawful impediment in the prosecution of their just rights.

ARTICLE VI. That there shall be no future confiscations made, nor any prosecutions commenced against any person or persons, for or by reason of the part which he or they may have taken in the present war, and that no person shall on that account, suffer any future loss or damage, either in his person, liberty or property; and that those who may be in confinement on such charges at the time of the ratification of the treaty in America, shall be immediately set at liberty, and the prosecutions so commenced be discontinued.

ARTICLE VII. There shall be a firm and perpetual peace between his Britannic Majesty and the said states, and between the subjects of the one and the citizens of the other, wherefore all hostilities both by sea and land shall then immediately cease: all prisoners on both sides shall be set at liberty, and his Britannic Majesty shall with all convenient speed, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any negroes, or other property of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garrisons and fleets from the United States, and from every port, place, and harbour

harbour within the same; leaving in all fortifications the American artillery that may be therein: and shall also order and cause all archives, records, deeds and papers belonging to any of the said states, or their citizens, which in the course of the war may have fallen into the hands of his officers, to be forthwith restored and delivered to the proper states and persons to whom they belong.

ARTICLE VIII. The navigation of the river Mississippi, from its source to the ocean, shall for ever remain free and open to the subjects of Great Britain, and the citizens of the United States.

ARTICLE IX. In case it should so happen that any place or territory belonging to Great Britain, or to the United States, should be conquered by the arms of either, from the other, before the arrival of these articles in America, it is agreed that the same shall be restored without difficulty, and without requiring any compensation.

Done at Paris, the thirtieth day of  
November, in the year of our  
Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-two.

RICHARD OSWALD.	(L. S.)
JOHN ADAMS,	(L. S.)
B. FRANKLIN,	(L. S.)
JOHN JAY,	(L. S.)
HENRY LAURENS.	(L. S.)

Witness,

CALEB WHITEFOORD, secretary to the  
British commission.

W. T. FRANKLIN, secretary to the  
American commission.

By the public prints we learn, that the following are the principal articles of peace between the other powers. France is to retain Tobago and Senegal: but is to restore to Great Britain, fort James on the river Gambia, Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Vincent's, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis and Montserrat. Great Britain is to restore to France, Goree, St. Lucie, St. Pierre and Miquelon. The fishery of France and Great Britain on the coast of Newfoundland, to remain on the same footing on which they were by the treaty of 1763, except that part of the coast of Bonavista, at Cape St. John's, which is to belong to the British.  
France



France is to be re-established in the East Indies, as well in Bengal, as on the east and west coast of the Peninsula, as regulated by the treaty of 1763. The articles of all preceding treaties concerning the demolition of Dunkirk, are to be suppressed. Spain is to retain Minorca and West Florida; and Great Britain cedes East Florida to Spain. An agreement is to be entered into between Spain and Great Britain, about the cutting of wood in the bay of Honduras. St. Eustatia, Demerara and Iffequibo, are to be restored by the French to the United Provinces.

At 12 o'clock on the 19th of April, the day which completed the eighth year of the war, the cessation of hostilities between the United States and Great Britain was proclaimed in the American army by order of General Washington.

Though it is stipulated by the 7th article of the provisional treaty, that "his Britannic Majesty shall, without carrying away any negroes, or other property of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garrisons and fleets from the United States;" yet a considerable number of negroes belonging to the citizens of these states were carried off. This produced a conference between General Washington and Sir Guy Carleton on the subject, at Taapan on the 6th of May. Sir Guy principally insisted, that he conceived it would not have been the intention of the British government, by the treaty of peace, to reduce themselves to the necessity of violating their faith to the negroes, who came into the British lines under the proclamations of his predecessors. He forbore to express his sentiments on the propriety of these proclamations; but urged that delivering up the negroes to their former masters, would be delivering them up, some possibly to executions, and others to severe punishments, which in his opinion would be a dishonorable violation of the public faith pledged to the negroes in the proclamations. He observed, that if the sending away of the negroes should hereafter be declared an infraction of the treaty, compensation must be made to the owners by the crown of Great Britain; and that he had taken measures to provide for this, by directing a register to be kept of all the negroes who were sent off, specifying the name, age and occupation of the slave, and the name and place of residence of his former master. He remarked, that he was not by the treaty held to *deliver* up any property, but was only restrained from *carrying* it away. He concluded the conversation on the subject by saying, he imagined that the mode of compensating, as well as the accounts and other points with respect to which there was no express provision made by the treaty, must be adjudged by commissioners to be hereafter appointed by the two nations.—

On the 26th of May Congress resolved, that the American ministers plenipotentiary for negotiating the peace should be directed to remonstrate on the subject to the court of Great Britain, and to take proper measures for obtaining such reparation as the nature of the case would admit. The same day they resolved, that General Washington should be instructed to grant furloughs to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers who had enlisted for the war, together with a proportionable number of commissioned officers of the different grades; and that the general and secretary at war should take the proper measures for conducting those troops home in such a manner as might be most convenient to themselves and to the states through which they might pass; and that the men thus furloughed should be allowed to take their arms with them. Something of a similar resolution was taken respecting the North Carolina troops under General Greene. You may think it worth recording, that Greene wrote on the 2d of Feb. from Charlestown—"Ever since the enemy have been gone, we have been obliged to subsist the troops at the point of the bayonet. The state agents dropped the business the moment Charlestown was evacuated, nor could the authority or influence of government induce them to continue a moment longer."—More than three weeks before the soldiers were ordered to be furloughed, Congress called upon the respective states to forward the collection of their taxes, that so the financier might have wherewith to advance them a part of their pay before they left the field; and he at the same time was directed to make the necessary arrangements for carrying the views of Congress into execution.

The resolve of Congress for furloughing the soldiers enlisted for the war, and a proportionate number of officers, and the order of the commander in chief founded upon it on the 2d of June, excited astonishment and chagrin in the generals and officers commanding regiments and corps in the cantonment on Hudson's river. They addressed their commander upon the occasion on the 5th; solicited his further aid on their behalf; and entreated that his order might be so far varied, as that no officer or soldier should be obliged to receive a furlough, until Congress could be apprized of the wretched situation into which the army must be plunged by a conformity to it. The next day General Washington returned them a satisfactory answer. He expressed his hope, that the financier's notes for three months pay to the army would soon arrive, and that the settlement of accounts might be completed in a very few days; by which the two subjects of the army's complaint would be removed.

Affairs were so regulated, that by the middle of June the soldiers were daily returning home, with such good order as did  
them



them great honor. On the 18th of the month, General Washington addressed a circular letter to the several governors and presidents of the United States, announcing his intended resignation of the command of the army, and expressing his thoughts as to those wise and salutary measures, which he thought could alone make the states a great and flourishing people. "There are four things (he said) which, I humbly conceive, are essential to the well-being, I may venture to say, to the existence of the United States as an independent power. 1st. An indissoluble union of the states under one federal head. 2dly, A sacred regard to public justice. 3dly, The adoption of a proper peace establishment. And 4thly, The prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the United States, which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and politics; to make those mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity; and, in some instances, to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the community. These are the pillars on which the glorious fabric of our independency and national character must be supported." Toward the close his words were—"It remains then, to be my final and only request, that your excellency will communicate these sentiments to your legislature, at their next meeting; and that they may be considered as the legacy of one who has ardently wished, on all occasions, to be useful to his country, and who, even in the shade of retirement, will not fail to implore the divine benediction upon it."

A committee of Congress having been appointed to inquire fully into the proceedings of the office of finance, reported on the 17th of June, that in examining the reforms which had been made in the public expenditures, their attention was necessarily called to the expenditures of former years; and that in comparing these with the present, and making every allowance for the difference of times and circumstances, they were of opinion, that the order and economy which had been introduced since the establishment of this office, had been attended with great savings of public money, as well as many other beneficial consequences.—The same was ordered to be entered on the journals.

The extravagance, waste and enormities in expences and charges among the British, being the subjects of conversation in company with several of the New England delegates; these were led to remark upon the enormous expences of the American army through waste, bad management, and other causes. After that, two of the Massachusetts delegates acknowledged, that it cost Congress at the rate of 18 millions per annum, hard dollars, to carry on the war, till Mr. Morris was chosen financier, and that then it cost them but about five millions.

LETTER

## L E T T E R XVIII.

*Roxbury, April 9, 1784.*

ADVICE being sent by express to Philadelphia from Lancaster, 67 miles distant, that about 80 of the Pennsylvania levies stationed there, were marching to the city in defiance of their officers, to seek a redress of grievances from the executive council of the state, the same was communicated to Congress; who appointed a committee to confer with the council on the 19th of June. The committee urged the calling out a detachment of militia to intercept the mutineers on their march, and suggested the danger of their being suffered to join the troops in the barracks, who a few days before had sent an insolent and threatening message to Congress, in the name of a board of sergeants. The council showing a reluctance to comply, from an opinion that the militia would not be willing to act, till some outrage was committed by the troops, the assistant secretary at war was sent by the committee to meet the mutineers, and endeavor to engage them to return to Lancaster. They however persisted, and arrived on the morning of the 20th at Philadelphia. They proceeded to the barracks, where were quartered about 150 veterans lately arrived from Carolina, the corps of artillery and others of different corps, amounting to upward of 300 in the whole. The day following, [June 21.] the troops, with fixed bayonets and drums beating, marched to the state-house, the seat of Congress, and of the supreme executive council of Pennsylvania. They placed guards at every door, sent in a written message to the president and council, and threatened to let loose an enraged soldiery upon them, if they were not gratified as to their demand within twenty minutes.—No address was made to Congress; but for some hours their situation was not very agreeable, while they were surrounded by about 300 men, with guards placed at their doors, and the soldiers from every appearance seemingly prepared for the worst purposes. Before the opportunity presented (after being about three hours under duress) of retiring without any other insult offered to them collectively or individually, they resolved, that the authority of the United States had been grossly insulted by the armed soldiers—that the committee confer with the executive council, and that in case it should appear to the committee, that there was no satisfactory ground for expecting adequate exertions, by the Pennsylvania state, for supporting the dignity of the federal government;

the



the president, on the advice of the committee, should summon the members of Congress to meet on Thursday the 26th at Trenton or Princeton—and that the secretary at war should communicate to the commander in chief, the state and disposition of the troops in Philadelphia, that so he might take immediate measures to dispatch to the city such force as he should judge expedient for suppressing any ensuing disturbances. The committee conferred with the council, without receiving satisfaction, while the mutinous disposition of the soldiery continued: they therefore advised to the summoning of Congress to Trenton or Princeton. When the inhabitants of Princeton and its vicinity knew that they were to be honored with the presence of Congress, they resolved to support order and good government, and exerted themselves to accommodate the representatives of the United States.

The moment General Washington was informed by express of the mutiny at Philadelphia, he ordered a detachment of 1500 men to be put in motion immediately; and gave the command of them to General Robert Howe. Upon their arrival, the disturbances were soon quieted, without bloodshed, and several of the mutineers were taken up, tried and condemned, two to suffer death, and four to receive corporal punishment; but were afterward pardoned by Congress, as they did not appear to have been principals in the mutiny, and as no lives were lost, nor any destruction of property committed. Congress were sensible to what it was partly owing, that they had been obliged to change their residence; they therefore directed on the 11th of July, the superintendent of finance to report to them, the reasons why the troops lately furloughed, did not receive part of their pay previous thereto, agreeably to the intention of Congress. The financier's notes with which such payment was at length made, soon passed at a considerable discount, notwithstanding the receivers in the several states were instructed to take them in payment of taxes; as also to take them up whenever tendered, if they had public money in their hands: thus the soldiery had experience of a fresh hardship.

On the 7th of August, the representatives of the United States "resolved (unanimously, ten states being present) That an equestrian statue of General Washington, be erected at the place where the residence of Congress shall be established:—That the statue be of bronze—The general to be represented in a Roman dress, holding a truncheon in his right hand, and his head encircled with a laurel wreath. The statue to be supported by a marble pedestal, on which are to be represented, in basso relievo, the following principal events of the war, in which Gen. Washington

ington commanded in person, viz. The evacuation of Boston—the capture of the Hessians at Trenton—the battle of Princeton—the action of Monmouth, and the surrender of York. On the upper part of the front of the pedestal, to be engraved as follows—The United States in Congress assembled, ordered this statue to be erected in the year of our Lord, 1783, in honor of George Washington, the illustrious commander in chief of the armies of the United States of America, during the war which vindicated and secured their liberty, sovereignty and independence.”

Toward the end of July, the general made a tour to the northward as far as Crown Point. When returned he waited upon Congress agreeable to invitation. He was introduced by two members, when the president addressed him with—“Sir, Congress feel particular pleasure in seeing your excellency, and in congratulating you on the success of a war, in which you have acted so conspicuous a part.” After some further affectionate and commendatory expressions, he closed with saying—“Hostilities have now ceased, but your country still needs your services.—She wishes to avail herself of your talents in forming the arrangements which will be necessary for her in the time of peace. For this reason your attendance at Congress has been requested. A committee is appointed to confer with your excellency, and to receive your assistance in preparing and digesting plans relative to those important objects.” The commander in chief made a reply that was highly acceptable. He also removed with his family to Rocky-hill, near Princeton, that he might the more conveniently confer with the committee.

[Sept. 25.] Congress in a proclamation published to the United States, the treaty of amity and commerce concluded on the 3d of April, 1783, between the King of Sweden and the United States of North America, for the space of fifteen years, by the honorable Benjamin Franklin, commissioned by the United States, and a minister plenipotentiary named for the purpose by the said king. By the 7th article, the resident subjects of each party are permitted safely to navigate their vessels, without any regard to those to whom the merchandises and cargoes may belong; and to frequent the places and ports of powers, enemies to the contracting parties, without being in any ways molested, and to carry on a commerce not only directly from the ports of an enemy to a neutral port, but even from one port of an enemy, to another port of an enemy, whether it be under the jurisdiction of the same or of different princes. Free ships are to make merchandises free; and every thing (contraband goods always excepted) on board of ships



ships belonging to subjects of the one or the other of the contracting parties, is to be considered as free, even though the cargo or a part of it belongs to the enemies of one or both. Persons on board a free ship, though enemies to both or either of the parties, are not to be taken out of the free ship, unless they are soldiers in the actual service of the said enemies. Article the 9th specifies arms, great guns, and various warlike instruments, under the name of contraband or prohibited goods, and then closes with—"and all other like kinds of arms and instruments of war for the use of troops." By the 10th article no goods are to be considered as contraband, which have not been *worked* into the form of any instrument or thing for the purpose of war by land or sea, much less such as have been prepared or wrought up for *any other* use, all which are to be reckoned free goods; as also all those which are not comprehended and particularly mentioned in the foregoing article. Such goods may be freely transported by the subjects of either party, even to places belonging to an enemy, such only excepted as are besieged, blocked or invested; and those places only are to be considered as such, which are nearly surrounded by one of the belligerent powers.

The 8th of October was marked by the attendance of a deputation from the yearly meeting of the people called quakers, who being admitted, delivered their address to Congress and withdrew. By such act that American body of people acknowledged the independent sovereignty of the United States, and implicitly professed their own allegiance. The meeting was held in Philadelphia, for Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and the western parts of Maryland and Virginia. The address was dated the 4th of the 10th month, and was signed by more than five hundred members. It related to the slave trade. That respectable body had at length proceeded so far in the cause of general liberty, without regarding country or complexion, as to enjoin the members of their society to liberate all such as they held in bondage: which injunction was generally complied with, and the African thereby restored to his natural and just right. They feared however, that some, forgetful of the days of distress, were prompted by avaricious motives to renew the trade for slaves to the African coasts, contrary to every humane and righteous consideration, and in opposition to the solemn declarations often repeated in favor of universal liberty. They therefore earnestly solicited the christian interposition of Congress, for the discouragement and prevention of so obvious an evil.

Ten days after the delivery of their address, [Oct. 18.] Congress by proclamation directed that the 11th of December should be

be set apart as a day of public thanksgiving. On the same day they "resolved, That two pieces of the field ordnance taken from the British army at the Cowpens, Augusta, or Eutaw, be presented by the commander in chief of the armies of the United States, to Major General Greene, as a public testimonial of the wisdom, fortitude and military skill which distinguished his command in the southern department, and of the eminent services which, amidst complicated difficulties and dangers, and against an enemy greatly superior in numbers, he has successfully performed for his country: And that a memorandum be engraved on the said pieces of ordnance, expressive of the substance of this resolution." The commander in chief was also to be informed, that General Greene had the permission of Congress to visit his family at Rhode Island. They closed the business of the day by issuing a proclamation. In that the armies of the United States were applauded for having displayed in the progress of an arduous and difficult war every military and patriotic virtue, for their fortitude and magnanimity in the most trying scenes of distress—and for a series of heroic and illustrious achievements, exalting them to a high rank among the most zealous and successful defenders of the rights and liberties of mankind. After giving them the thanks of their country, for their long, eminent and faithful services, Congress declared it to be their pleasure, that such part of the federal armies as stood engaged to serve during the war, should from and after the third day of November next, be absolutely discharged from the said service. On the 29th, the commander in chief was directed by them to discharge all the troops in the service of the United States, who were in Pennsylvania or to the southward thereof, except the garrison of Fort-Pitt.

On the 31st of October, the Honorable Peter John Van Berckel, minister plenipotentiary from their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Netherlands, was admitted by Congress to an audience. The Chevalier de la Luzerne, Gen. Washington, the superintendent of finance, many other gentlemen of eminence, together with a number of ladies of the first character, assembled in the chapel of Princeton college to participate of the joys the audience should afford; and for which their spirits were put into proper tone, by the arrival, a little before Mr. Van Berckel entered, of an authentic account that the definitive treaty between Great Britain and the United States was concluded. Mr. Van Berckel upon being introduced, addressed Congress in a speech, which was so gracefully pronounced as to please those who could not understand it, because of its not being



in English. He then delivered a letter from their High Migh-  
tinesses. The president returned an answer to the minister; in  
the close of which it was observed, that the United States had  
received the most distinguished proofs of regard and friendship  
from his illustrious family. The assembly after that separated;  
and the day closed with convivial meetings.

On the 2d of November, were issued from Rocky Hill, Gen.  
Washington's farewell orders to the armies of the United States.  
Having taken notice of Congress's proclamation of Oct. the 18th,  
he said—"It only remains for the commander in chief to ad-  
dress himself once more, and that for the last time, to the armies  
of the United States (however widely dispersed the individuals  
who composed them may be) and to bid them an affectionate—a  
long farewell.—But before the commander in chief takes his fi-  
nal leave of those he holds most dear, he wishes to indulge him-  
self a few moments in calling to mind a slight review of the past:  
—he will then take the liberty of exploring, with his military  
friends, their future prospects—of advising the general line of  
conduct, which, in his opinion, ought to be pursued;—and he  
will conclude the address, by expressing the obligations he feels  
himself under for the spirited and able assistance he has experien-  
ced from them, in the performance of an arduous office." His  
closing words were—"And being now to conclude these his last  
public orders, to take his ultimate leave, in a short time of the  
military character, and to bid a final adieu to the armies he has  
so long had the honor to command, he can only again offer in  
their behalf his recommendations to their grateful country, and  
his prayers to the God of armies.—May ample justice be done  
them here, and may the choicest of heaven's favors, both here  
and hereafter, attend those, who, under the divine auspices, have  
secured innumerable blessings for others! With these wishes, and  
this benediction, the commander in chief is about to retire from  
service.—The curtain of separation will soon be drawn—and the  
military scene to him will be closed for ever!"

In August Sir Guy Carleton received his final orders for the  
evacuation of New York. On the 17th he informed the presi-  
dent of Congress, that he should lose no time in fulfilling his ma-  
jesty's commands. But he could assign no precise period. The  
violence of the Americans, which broke out soon after the cessa-  
tion of hostilities, increased the numbers of those that looked  
to him for escape from threatened destruction. The newspapers  
contained repeated menaces from committees formed in various  
towns, cities and districts, and even at Philadelphia; which  
augmented the terrors of the loyalists, so that Sir Guy could not

in honor leave any of those behind, who were desirous of quitting the country. He expressed his concern at Congress's having suspended to that late hour the recommendations stipulated by the treaty. The committee of Congress had reported, on the 30th of May, after a preamble,—“therefore, resolved, that the several states are hereby required to remove all obstructions which may interpose in the way of the entire and faithful execution of the fourth and sixth articles; and that it be at the same time earnestly recommended to them, to take into serious consideration the fifth article, and to conform to the several matters therein contained, with that spirit of moderation and liberality, which ought ever to characterize the deliberations and measures of a free and enlightened nation.” Instead of adopting and publishing the resolution, a motion was made that the report be committed, to which twenty-two members of Congress present agreed: The New York delegate, Mr. (formerly colonel) Hamilton, one of the committee, distinguished himself by his firmness and consistency in giving it his single negative. The inveteracy discovered in the states against the parties alluded to in the fifth article, undoubtedly influenced the minds of several to vote for the commitment, while the inclination of others prompted them to use that as an argument for their so voting. The aversion of the people to a compliance with such recommendations, had they been published, did not proceed altogether from the rancor of the heart; but interest influenced. Debts, which had never been contracted, were claimed, and paid out of the confiscated estates: in some instances by those who were debtors to the parties suffering by the confiscations. Confiscated property to a considerable amount had been purchased by many at a trifling expence. Had the recommendations been passed and complied with, scenes of notorious injustice would have been laid open, the most beneficial bargains superseded, and the payment of a number of simple contract and bond debts speedily required.

Tuesday, November the 25th, was the day agreed upon for the evacuation of New York. To prevent every disorder which might otherwise ensue from such an event, the American troops under the command of Gen. Knox marched from Haerlem to the Bowery lane in the morning. They remained there till about one o'clock, when the British forces left the posts in the Bowery, and the Americans marched forward and took possession of the city. This being effected, Knox and a number of citizens on horseback rode to the Bowery to receive their excellencies Gen. Washington and Governor Clinton, who, with their suits, made their public entry into the city on horseback; followed by the  
lieut.



lieut. governor and the members of council, for the temporary government of the southern district, four abreast—Gen. Knox and the officers of the army, eight abreast—citizens on horseback, eight abreast—the speaker of the assembly and citizens on foot, eight abreast. The procession ceased at Cape's tavern. The governor gave a public dinner at Frances's tavern; at which the commander in chief and other general officers were present. The arrangements for the whole business were so well made and executed, that the most admirable tranquillity succeeded through the day and night. On Monday, [Dec. 1.] the governor gave an elegant entertainment to the French ambassador, the Chevalier de la Luzerne. Gen. Washington, the principal officers of the New-York state and of the army, and upward of a hundred gentlemen, were present. Magnificent fire works, infinitely exceeding every thing of the kind before seen in the United States, were exhibited at the Bowling-green in the Broad-way, in the evening of Tuesday, in celebration of the definitive treaty of peace. They commenced by a dove's descending with the *olive branch*, and setting fire to a marron battery.

On Thursday noon, [4th.] the principal officers of the army assembled at Frances's (alias Black Sam's) tavern, to take a final leave of their much-loved commander in chief. After awhile, Gen. Washington came in, and calling for a glass of wine, thus addressed them—"With an heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you. I most devoutly wish, that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy, as your former ones have been glorious and honorable." Having drank, he said—"I cannot come to each of you to take my leave, but shall be obliged to you, if each will come and take me by the hand." Gen. Knox being nearest turned to him; Washington with tears rolling down his cheeks, grasped Knox's hand, and then kissed him: he did the same by every succeeding officer, and by some other gentlemen who were present. The passions of human nature were never more tenderly agitated, than in this interesting and distressful scene. The whole company were in tears. When Washington left the room, and passed through the corps of light infantry about two o'clock in his way to Whitehall, the others followed, walking in a solemn, mute, and mournful procession, with heads hanging down and dejected countenances, till he embarked in his barge for Powle's Hook. When he had entered, he turned, took off his hat, and with that bid them a silent adieu. They paid him the same affectionate compliment, and the barge pushing off, returned from Whitehall in like manner as they had advanced.

Though

Though General Washington was not stayed in his progress to Philadelphia, by the Congress, who, on the 1st of November, had elected the honorable Thomas Mifflin president, and three days after had adjourned to meet at Annapolis in Maryland on the 26th; yet it was the 8th of December at noon, before Gen. Washington arrived at the capital of Pennsylvania. When his intention of quitting the army was known, he was complimented and received with the utmost respect and affection, by all orders of men, both in the civil and military line. He remained some days in Philadelphia. While in the city he delivered in his accounts to the comptroller, down to December the 13th, *all in his own handwriting*, and every entry made in the most particular manner, stating the occasion of each charge, so as to give the least trouble in examining and comparing them with the vouchers with which they were attended.

The heads are as follows, copied from the folio manuscript paper book, in the file of the treasury office No. 3700, being a black box of tin containing, under lock and key, both that and the vouchers.

		£.	s.	d.
Total of expenditures from 1775 to 1783, exclusive of provisions from commissaries and contractors, and of liquors, &c. from them and others		3387	14	4
*Secret intelligence and service	-	1982	10	0
Spent in reconnoitring and travelling	-	1874	8	8
Miscellaneous charges	-	2952	10	1
Expended besides, dollars according to the scale of depreciation	-	6114	14	0
		£. 16,311 17 1		

*Note*, 104,364 of the dollars were received after March, 1780, and although credited 40 for one, many did not fetch at the rate of a hundred for one, while 27,775 of them are returned without deducting any thing from the above account (and therefore actually made a present of to the public.)

(Gen. Washington's account) From June, 1775, to the end of June, 1783,	£. 16,311 17 1
Expenditure from July 1, 1783, to Dec. 13	1717 5 4
(Added afterward) from thence to Dec. 28	213 8 4
	Mrs.

\* 200 guineas advanced to General McDougall are not included in the 1982l. 10s. not being yet settled, but included in some of the other charges, and so reckoned in the general sum.



Mrs. Washington's travelling expences in coming  
to the general and returning

1064 1 0

lawful money of Virginia, the same as the Massachusetts, or  
£. 19,306 11 9  
£. 14,479 18 9 $\frac{1}{4}$  sterling.

The general entered in his book—"I find upon the final adjustment of these accounts, that I am a considerable loser—my disbursements falling a good deal short of my receipts, and the money I had upon hand of my own: for besides the sums I carried with me to Cambridge in 1775, I received monies afterwards on private account in 1777 and since, which (except small sums that I had occasion now and then to apply to private uses) were all expended in the public service: through hurry, I suppose, and the perplexity of business (for I know not how else to account for the deficiency) I have omitted to charge the same, whilst every *debit* against me is here credited. July 1, 1783."

Happy would it have been for the United States (you will be likely to add—and for Great Britain) had each person who has handled public money been equally exact and punctual!

General Washington after delivering in his accounts, hastened to Annapolis, where he arrived on the evening of the 19th of December. The next day he informed Congress of his arrival in that city, with the intention of asking leave to resign the commission he had the honor of holding in their service, and desired to know their pleasure in what manner it would be most proper to offer his resignation—whether in writing or at an audience. They resolved that it should be at a public audience, the following Tuesday at twelve o'clock. The general had been so reserved with regard to the time of his intended resignation, that Congress had not the least apprehension of its being either so soon or so sudden.

When the day was arrived, [23.] and the hour approached for fixing the patriotic character of the AMERICAN CHIEF, the gallery was filled with a beautiful group of elegant ladies, and some graced the floor of Congress. On this were likewise the governor, council and legislature of Maryland, several general officers, the consul general of France, and the respectable citizens of Annapolis. Congress were seated and covered, as representatives of the sovereignty of the Union, the spectators were uncovered and standing. The general was introduced to a chair by the secretary, who, after a decent interval ordered silence. A short pause ensued, when the honorable Thomas Mifflin, the president, informed the general, that "the United States in Congress assembled

were

were prepared to receive his communications :” on which he rose with great dignity, and delivered this address—“ Mr. President, The great events on which my resignation depended having at length taken place, I have now the honor of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them, to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

“ Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States, of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence—a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task ; which however was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the union, and the patronage of Heaven.

“ The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations ; and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest.

“ While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge in this place, the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the gentlemen who have been attached to my person during the war. It was impossible the choice of confidential officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate. Permit me, Sir, to recommend in particular those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favorable notice and patronage of Congress.

“ I consider it as an indispensable duty to close this last act of my official life by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to his holy keeping.

“ Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action, and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life.”

The general was so powerfully impressed, with the great and interesting scenes that crowded in upon his imagination while speaking, that he would have been scarce able to have uttered more than the closing period. He advanced and delivered to the president his commission, with a copy of his address. Having resumed his place, he received in a standing posture the following answer



answer of Congress; which the president delivered with elegance; but not without such a sensibility as changed, and spread a degree of paleness over his countenance.—“ Sir, The United States in Congress assembled receive, with emotions too affecting for utterance, the solemn resignation of the authorities under which you have led their troops with success through a perilous and a doubtful war. Called upon by your country to defend its invaded rights, you accepted the sacred charge, before it had formed alliances, and whilst it was without funds or a government to support you. You have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power through all disasters and changes. You have, by the love and confidence of your fellow-citizens, enabled them to display their martial genius, and transmit their fame to posterity.— You have persevered, till these United States, aided by a magnanimous king and nation, have been enabled under a just Providence, to close the war in freedom, safety and independence; on which happy event we sincerely join you in congratulations.

“ Having defended the standard of liberty in this new world: having taught a lesson useful to those who inflict and to those who feel oppression, you retire from the great theatre of action, with the blessings of your fellow-citizens—but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command, it will continue to animate remotest ages.

“ We feel with you our obligations to the army in general, and will particularly charge ourselves with the interests, of those confidential officers, who have attended your person to this affecting moment.

“ We join you in commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching him to dispose the hearts and minds of its citizens, to improve the opportunity afforded them, of becoming a happy and respectable nation. And for you we address to him our earnest prayers, that a life so beloved, may be fostered with all his care; that your days may be happy as they have been illustrious; and that he will finally give you that reward which this world cannot give.”

To see on the one hand, so great and amiable a character taking his leave of public employments to spend his future days in retirement; and his country on the other acknowledging his unprecedented merit, and with the most affectionate embraces loading him with their blessings, exhibited a scene that drew tears from many of the spectators. When the business was closed, his excellency immediately set out for his seat at Mount Vernon in Virginia. The governor of Maryland accompanied him to South river,

river, with the warmest wishes of the city for his repose, health and happiness. Long, long may he enjoy them!

The definitive treaty between Great Britain and the United States, together with a joint letter from the ministers of the United States dated at Passy the 10th of September, was laid before Congress on the 13th of December. That and the letter were referred to a committee, who reported upon them, January the 14th. The nine states present resolved unanimously to ratify the definitive treaty. In testimony of such ratification, they caused the seal of the United States to be affixed to it; and it was witnessed by his Excellency Thomas Mifflin, president. The treaty begins—"In the name of the most holy and undivided Trinity."—Then follows the introduction—"It having pleased the Divine Providence to dispose the hearts of the most serene and most potent Prince George the Third, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, &c. &c. and of the United States of America, to forget all past misunderstandings and differences, that have unhappily interrupted the good correspondence and friendship which they wish mutually to restore; and to establish such a beneficial and satisfactory intercourse between the two countries, upon the ground of reciprocal advantages and mutual convenience, as may promote and secure to both perpetual peace and harmony; and having for this desirable end, already laid the foundation of peace and reconciliation, by the provisional articles, signed at Paris on the 30th of November 1782, by the commissioners empowered on each part, which articles were agreed to be inserted in and to constitute the treaty of peace proposed to be concluded between the crown of Great Britain and the said United States, &c. &c. his Britannic Majesty, and the United States of America, in order to carry into full effect the provisional articles, &c. have constituted, that is to say, his Britannic Majesty on his part, David Hartley, Esq; and the said United States on their part, John Adams, Esq; Benjamin Franklin, Esq; John Jay, Esq; to be the plenipotentiaries for the concluding and signing the present definitive treaty; who after having reciprocally communicated their respective full powers, have agreed upon and confirmed the following articles." The nine first articles are the same with the provisional, five or six words excepted to accommodate them to the date of the treaty. But the following 10th article is added—"The solemn ratifications of the present treaty, expedited in good and due form, shall be exchanged between the contracting parties in the space of six months, or sooner if possible, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present treaty. In witness whereof, we the  
undersigned,



undersigned, their ministers plenipotentiary, have in their name, and in virtue of our full powers, signed with our hands the present definitive treaty, and caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto. Done at Paris, this third day of September, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three (L. S.) D. Hartley. (L. S.) John Adams, (L. S.) B. Franklin, (L. S.) John Jay."

On the same day the treaty was ratified, Congress unanimously resolved upon transmitting to the several states, the recommendation agreed upon by the commissioners in the 5th provisional article; but too late for the credit of America, the benefit of the United States, or the relief of the loyalists. It is conjectured, that between twenty and thirty thousand persons have been forced upon a residence at the new settlement of Shelburne and others in Nova Scotia; all of whom might, by a temperate conduct and a noble spirit of forgiveness, have been rendered good subjects to the United States. Through resentment they may hereafter prove dangerous enemies, particularly to the Massachusetts, should they be aided by foreign assistance. The United States have not only deprived themselves of their personal service, but also of all their property, which is not inconsiderable, for there are many wealthy individuals among them.

Nearly the whole of the American army has been disbanded; but *The Society of the Cincinnati*, which the late officers of it have established, has spread a considerable alarm. General Knox, with the good intention of reconciling the minds of his military brethren to the private life on which they were soon to enter, projected the plan, before the circulation of the anonymous papers through the army in March, 1783. When the dangerous design of these had been frustrated by the prudence of the commander in chief, Knox imparted his proposals to certain officers. They were afterward communicated to the several regiments of the respective lines, and an officer from each was appointed, who, with the generals, should take the same into consideration at a meeting on the 10th of May, at which Baron Steuben, the senior officer present, presided. At their next meeting, on the 13th, the plan having been revised was accepted. The substance of it is—"The officers of the American army do hereby in the most solemn manner associate, constitute and combine themselves into one *Society of Friends*, to endure as long as they shall endure, or any of their eldest male posterity; and in failure thereof, the collateral branches, who may be judged worthy of becoming its supporters and members.—The officers of the American army, having generally been taken from the citizens of America, possess

high veneration for the character of that illustrious Roman, *Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus*, and being resolved to follow his example, by returning to their citizenship, they think they may with propriety denominate themselves, *The Society of the Cincinnati*. The following principles shall be immutable—an incessant attention to preserve inviolate the exalted rights and liberties of human nature, for which they have fought and bled—and an unalterable determination to promote and cherish between the respective states union and national honor ; to render permanent, cordial affection, and the spirit of brotherly kindness among the officers ; and to extend acts of beneficence toward those officers and their families, who may unfortunately be under the necessity of receiving it. The general society will, for the sake of frequent communications, be divided into state societies, and those again into such districts as shall be directed by the state societies. The state societies shall meet on the fourth of July annually, and the general society on the first Monday in May annually, so long as they shall deem it necessary, and afterward at least once in every three years. The state societies are to have a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer and assistant-treasurer. The meeting of the general society shall consist of its officers, and a representation from each state society, in number not exceeding five, whose expences shall be borne by their respective state societies. In the general meeting, the president, vice-president, secretary, assistant-secretary, treasurer, and assistant-treasurers-general, shall be chosen to serve until the next meeting. Those officers who are foreigners, are to be considered as members in the societies of any of the states in which they may happen to be. As there are and will at all times be men in the respective states eminent for their abilities and patriotism, whose views may be directed to the same laudable objects with those of the Cincinnati, it shall be a rule to admit such characters, as honorary members of the society for their own lives only : provided that the number of the honorary members does not exceed a ratio of one to four of the officers and their descendants. The society shall have an order by which its members shall be known and distinguished, which shall be a medal of gold, of a proper size to receive the proposed emblems, and to be suspended by a deep blue ribbon, two inches wide, edged with white, descriptive of the union of America and France."

The society at the said meeting directed, that the president-general should transmit, as soon as might be to each of the following characters, a medal containing the order of the society, viz. the Chevalier de la Luzerne, the Sieur Gerard, the Count d'Estaing, the Count de Grasse, the Count de Barras, the Chevalier d'Estaing, &c.



ches, the Count de Rochambeau, and the generals and colonels in the army; and should acquaint them, that "the society do themselves the honor to consider them as members." They also resolved, that the members of the several state societies should assemble as soon as may be for the choice of their officers; "that Gen. Heath, Baron Steuben, and Gen. Knox, be a committee to wait on the commander in chief, with a copy of the institution, and request him to honor the society by placing his name at the head of it." They likewise desired General Heath to transmit copies of the institution, with the proceedings thereon, to the commanding officer of the southern army, the senior officer in each state, from Pennsylvania to Georgia inclusive, and to the commanding officer of the Rhode Island line, requesting them to take such measures as may appear to them necessary for expediting the establishment of their state societies. Circular letters were accordingly written; and the plan of the Cincinnati carried into execution, without the least opposition being given to it by any one state, or body of men in any.

A pamphlet was at length published signed *Cassius*, dated Charlestown, October 10, 1783, entitled *Considerations, on the Society or Order of Cincinnati*; with this motto, "Blow ye the trumpet in Zion." It is thought to be written by *Ædanus Burke, Esq.* one of the chief justices of South Carolina; and is well executed. The author undertakes to prove, "that the Cincinnati creates two distinct orders among the Americans—1st, A race of hereditary nobles, founded on the military, together with the powerful families, and first-rate, leading men in the state, whose view it will ever be, *to rule*: and 2dly, The people or plebeians, whose only view is not to be oppressed; but whose certain fate it will be to suffer oppression under the institution." Remarking upon the reason for the members being called the *Cincinnati*, he exclaims—"As they were taken from the citizens, why in the name of God not be contented "to return to citizenship", without usurping an hereditary order? or with what "propriety can they denominate" themselves from Cincinnatus, with an ambition so rank as to aim at nothing less, than *Ortum cum Dignitate*, "Retirement and a peerage"? Did that virtuous Roman, having subdued the enemies of his country, and returned home to tend his vineyard and plant his cabbages; did he confer an hereditary order of peerage on himself and fellow soldiers? I answer, No; it was more than he dared to do." When near the end he says,— "With regard to myself, I will be candid to own, that although I am morally certain the institution will entail upon us the evils I have mentioned: yet I have not the most distant idea, that it will

will come to a dissolution. The first class, or leading gentry in the state [of South Carolina] and who will always hold the government, will find their interest in supporting a distinction that will gratify their ambition, by removing them far above their fellow citizens. The middling order of our gentry, and substantial landholders, may see its tendency; but they can take no step to oppose it, having little to do with government. And the lower class, with the city populace, will never reason on it, till they feel the smart, and then they will have neither the power nor capacity for a reformation."

The alarm is become so universal, that the general society, at their meeting to be held in Philadelphia in May, must agree upon alterations, and remove the most obnoxious parts of the plan, or the states will be likely to set their faces against the Cincinnati, as a dangerous order. Many of the American officers have undoubtedly become members merely upon prudential motives, and will join their influence for the removal of such obnoxious parts. General Greene, the late commanding officer of the southern army, has acknowledged to me in conversation, that there is not in the society, as at present constituted, a delicacy with regard to the general body of American citizens; and it may be fairly presumed, that a similar sentiment is espoused by the late commander in chief. It is to be hoped, that the several states will unite in determining, that the society shall dissolve with the deaths of the present officers and honorary members, and that it shall not be perpetuated by an accession of new and younger ones. In their late contest with Great Britain they acted upon the maxim—*obsta principis*. They must apply it afresh for their security against lordly dominion.

How much a people, and governmental powers, are prone to put up with and practise internal encroachments upon liberty, when they have secured themselves from such as are foreign, may appear from the following facts.

In 1782, Captain Gilbert Dench was chosen for Hopkinton, and suffered to sit as member in the Massachusetts house of representatives, though he had a dwelling in and lived at Boston for a full year before the choice. Edward Pope, Esq; was representative for Dartmouth and naval officer at the same time. Both were under an absolute disqualification by the constitution. On Tuesday the 6th of May, 1783, the town of Boston, which could not comply with a warden-act, upon the plea that it was against the constitution, chose James Sullivan, Esq; one of their representatives in direct opposition to the constitution, which requires that every representative should have been an inhabitant of the town



town he is chosen to represent, *one year at least* next preceding his election. When the propriety of his election was inquired into by the house, a majority determined in favor of it; upon the flimsy plea, that he transacted business in Boston though he slept at Cambridge, and removed with an *intention* of becoming an inhabitant, in time to have completed that inhabitancy which the constitution requires; and that his stopping at Cambridge to secure the health of one of his family, whose life must have been endangered by her spending the summer in Boston, was occasioned by an act of God. The same cause which secured his election, secured his seat, viz. an avowed and violent opposition to every moderate measure in favor of the parties who, by the provisional articles, were to be the objects of the congressional recommendation.

By a paragraph in a bill, which was before the house (during this their first session) and afterward passed into a law, cases were submitted to the sole judgment of two justices of peace, that ought to have been left to the determination of a jury. But certain members protested against it, assigning the following reasons for their so doing—" 1. Because we apprehend other provision might have been made, consistent with the constitution, and at the same time more effectual for the purpose of preventing the return of persons who have left this state and joined the enemies of the United States, than that provided in the paragraph aforesaid. Such constitutional and more effectual provision was moved and urged by the dissentients and others, as a substitute in place of the said paragraph, and is as follows, viz. "Provided nevertheless, that if any person committed as aforesaid, shall, before the warrant is made out by the governor to send him out of the state, petition the governor, he shall, with advice of council, appoint three justices of the county, *quorum unus*, where such person stands committed, to issue their precept for a jury to be drawn out of the superior court box and summoned to appear at a certain time and place, and to inquire on oath whether the person so committed is within the act aforesaid; and if the jury shall return their verdict, that such person is not within said act, then he shall be discharged and not be transported: but such person shall not be liberated from his confinement until a verdict is so given in his favor. And in every such case the justices shall appoint some meet person to act as council on behalf of government, at the expence of the commonwealth. And the person petitioning for such trial shall pay all the cost thereof in the same manner as other persons are obliged to do, in bringing forward a suit at law.—" 2. Because by the said paragraph, that essential right of freemen, *a trial by jury*,

jury, is taken away, and every subject of this commonwealth exposed to be deprived of his liberty, property and rights of citizenship, and to the *infamous punishment* of banishment, by the sole judgment of two justices of the peace.—“ 3. Because it is a flagrant and direct violation of the principles and spirit of the constitution, and the letter of the declaration of rights, art. xii. which provides that, ” No subject shall be arrested, imprisoned, dispoiled, or deprived of his property, immunities or privileges, put out of the protection of the law, exiled or deprived of his life, liberty or estate, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land, And the legislature shall not make any law, that shall subject any person to a capital or infamous punishment, excepting for the government of the army and navy, without trial by jury.”—“ 4. Because it furnishes a precedent of a tendency, most dangerous and fatal to the security of the lives, liberties and property of the subjects of this commonwealth.” The protest was subscribed by William Philips, Nathaniel Appleton, Caleb Davis, Thomas Dawes, all of the Boston board; by Thomas Clarke, James Swan, Solomon Lovell, Ebenezer Warren, John Choate, Nathan Dane, Bailey Bartlett, James Bancroft, John Burke, Samuel Loring, James Perry, John H. Bartlet, Peter Penniman, Jacob Ludwig, Theodore Sedgwick, William King, Thompson J. Skinner, John Bacon, William Bodman, Timothy Childs, and Nathaniel Wyman.

When the recommendation from Congress of January the 14th, 1784, was received, various methods were practised to prevent the good effects of it. It was roundly asserted by some of the popular leaders, that Mr. John Adams did not wish that the same should be regarded. To counteract such reports, Mr. Adams's letter of September the 10th was communicated to certain gentlemen of the senate and house, who copied the same themselves, the more fully to defeat such assertions. But even Mr. J. Adams's express declaration in favor of the tories could not influence the general court to the exercise of a becoming moderation.

As to Mr. Marbois' letter he has privately pronounced it to be *official*; which he asserts exempts him from all obligation to acknowledge it: this accounts for his having disowned it to a certain gentleman who has made a conspicuous figure in Congress.

The peace has afforded me the opportunity of gaining further information as to certain particulars relating to the war, which it may be proper to mention.

When Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton approached Charlotteville, he dispatched a troop of horse under Captain M'Leod, three miles



miles further to Mr. Jefferson's \* house, with the double object of taking him and the two speakers of the senate and delegates, prisoners; and of remaining there in vidette, as the house had a commanding view of half a score counties round about. Tarleton gave strict orders to the captain to suffer nothing to be injured. The troop failed in their design of making prisoners: notwithstanding which, McLeod preserved every thing with sacred care during his tarriance there of about eighteen hours. Colonel Tarleton was just as long at Charlotte-ville; when he was hurried from thence by the news of the rising of the militia, and by a sudden fall of rain which threatened to swell the river, and intercept his return. In general he did little injury to the inhabitants on that short and hasty excursion, which was about 60 miles from the main army, then in Spotsylvania. Lord Cornwallis afterward proceeded to the Point of Fork, and encamped his army from thence all along the main James river to a seat of Mr. Jefferson's, called Elkhill; and made it his head quarters for the ten days of his remaining in that position. Mr. Jefferson happily had time to remove most of his effects out of the house. His flocks of cattle, sheep and hogs, together with what corn was wanted, were used for the sustenance of the army; and all his horses, capable of service, were carried off. This was no other than Mr. Jefferson expected. But the throats of the horses too young for service were cut; his growing crops of corn and tobacco were burned, together with his barns, containing the same articles of the preceding year, and all the fences on the plantation, so as to leave it an absolute waste. These things were perpetrated under Lord Cornwallis's eye; the situation of the house, in which he was, commanding a view of every part of the plantation. The rest of the neighbourhood was treated in somewhat the same stile; but not with that spirit of total extermination which seemed to rage over Jefferson's possessions. Wherever the army under his lordship went, the dwelling houses were plundered of every thing which could be carried off. Hundreds of eye witnesses can prove, that his lordship's table was served with plate thus pillaged from private houses; though his lordship's character in Great Britain will forbid the belief of his sharing in the plunder. By an estimate made at the time, on the best information that could be collected, the state of Virginia lost, during Cornwallis's attempts to reduce it, 30,000 slaves; about 27,000 of whom died of the small-pox and camp fever: the rest are thought to have been partly sent to the West Indies, and partly to New

\* Now the American plenipotentiary at the court of Versailles.

New York, and from thence, before the evacuation, to Nova Scotia and elsewhere. The whole devastations occasioned by the British army, during the six months previous to their surrender at York Town, are supposed to amount to about three millions sterling.

"The loss of men sustained by the town of New Haven, out of the continental line, from among the militia, seamen and other inhabitants, is estimated at 210. New Haven is about a twenty-fourth part of Connecticut; reckoning therefore the same proportion of loss to the whole state, the number lost will amount to 5,040. Connecticut is esteemed about a twelfth part of the American states; reckoning the same proportion of loss therefore to the whole, the total amount will be 60,480; but New York, New Jersey, and the southern states, have, doubtless, suffered a greater loss in proportion to their numbers than Connecticut. It is therefore probable that the whole loss of lives is not less than 70,000.\*"† Vast numbers died on board the prison ships at New York: not less, it is asserted, than 11,000 in one only, the *Jersey*.‡ Many perished in consequence of their being so crowded together, others through cruel usage, and several for want of those exertions which would have prevented fatal sickness and have promoted health.

The British forces are charged with having utterly destroyed more than fifteen places of public worship within the United States, during the course of the war. Most of these they burnt, and others they levelled with the ground, leaving in some places not a vestige of their former situation. A number of others they nearly destroyed, by converting them into barracks, jails, hospitals, and riding schools. In New York, there were nineteen places of worship when the war began; and when the city was evacuated, there were but nine fit for use. Trinity church and the Old Lutheran were indeed destroyed by the fire. But whatever the Americans may object against the British, on account of the loss of lives and property which they have sustained, they have abundant cause for thankfulness to the God of armies for having conducted them through the contest into a state of independence, with sufferings so short and light comparatively considered. It was not quite eight years that they were engaged in it, computing from the first commencement of hostilities to the ratifying of the provisional treaty. This is a less time than that,

in

\* The Rev. Benjamin Trumbull's Thanksgiving Sermon at North-Haven, Dec. 11, 1783.

† Dr. Ezra Stiles's Election Sermon before the governor and general assembly of Connecticut, May 8, 1782, p. 45.



in which the states of Holland (in their glorious struggle with Spain) dared so much as to claim independence. There is scarce, if an instance in history, of so great a revolution being effected in so short a time, and with so little loss of lives and property.\*

From what has been already related, you will collect for yourself the characters of the two late generals of the northern and southern armies, under whose commands the American war terminated. You may wish however to receive some additional information concerning them. A few strictures must suffice.

His Excellency George Washington is descended from a family that emigrated to Virginia, when the royalists in England were exposed to various distresses previous to the restoration. Virginia does not afford those advantages for a universal education which are enjoyed in Europe—a quarter of the world his excellency never visited. Strong powers and close application compensated in several respects for the deficiencies of his native country. His epistolary and other compositions, which appeared while he sustained a public character will be a lasting credit to him. He was happy in having a succession of able secretaries, whom he undoubtedly employed in drawing up many of his official papers, after having dictated the matter of them: but his private correspondences, and others which from time and circumstances must necessarily have employed his own pen, show that he was equal to any of those publications, which had his name affixed to them by his authority. It would be absurd to expect, that he should equal in military skill the first European generals, when he has enjoyed neither their opportunities nor experience for perfecting himself: but it may be justly asserted concerning him, that he was the best general the Americans could have had to command them. The world has been mistaken in one opinion respecting his Excellency, whose natural temper possesses more of the *Marcellus* and less of the *Fabius* than has been generally imagined. The event justified his discernment in fixing upon the Honorable Nathaniel Greene to command the southern army, when the resolve of Congress produced a vacancy: but several of the first officers in his own, thought at the time, that a wrong choice had been made.

The parents of the honorable Nathaniel Greene were quakers, and descended from some of the first settlers in the Rhode Island government; under which the general was born in or about 1741. The father was an anchor-smith, had considerable iron works, carried on a large stroke of business, and was concerned in ship-

ping. The son Nathaniel, being prompted by a laudable ambition and a thirst after knowledge while a boy, learned the Latin, chiefly by his own industry, and with very little help. He procured a small library, and improved his mind by reading. He had a prevailing taste for military history; which he indulged by borrowing such publications, when it did not suit him to purchase. He was, at an early period of life, chosen a member of the Rhode Island assembly; and discharged his trust so as to give the highest satisfaction to his constituents. Though educated in the peaceable principles of quakerism, yet he thought himself called, by the peculiarity of the times, to take an active part in the defence of American liberty. Upon his assuming the military character, the quakers renounced all connection with him as a member of their particular body, by reading him out of the meeting. He was chosen general, to command the regiments raised by Rhode Island, for the assistance of the Massachusetts. He was at length honored with the confidence of Gen. Washington; but his influence was limited. He was of a humane disposition; but resolutely severe when the same was necessary. He was of a firm, intrepid, and independent mind. He abhorred the cruelties that were practised by the partizans of each side, and strongly inculcated a spirit of moderation. To a prevailing knowledge of this disposition, he ascribed his being spared by the tories in Carolina, who, he thought, could have shot him repeatedly, had they been so minded. The same amiable temper influenced him to declare against the measure which the South Carolina legislature adopted, when they passed the confiscating act at Jacksonborough.\*

The

\* In October, 1785, the honorable Nathaniel Greene sailed from Rhode Island to Georgia, where he had a considerable estate not far distant from Savannah. Here he passed away his time, occupied in domestic concerns, as the private citizen. In June, 1786, while walking without an umbrella, the intense rays of the sun upon his head overpowered him, and brought on an inflammation of the brain, which in a few days carried him off. Thus he died by a stroke of the sun—probably the disorder that proved fatal to the son of the Shunamite. When the account of his death arrived at Savannah, the inhabitants were struck with the deepest sorrow. All business was suspended. The shops and stores throughout the town were shut; and the ships in the harbour had their colours half masted on the mournful occasion. The body was brought to Savannah, and interred on the 20th.—In August the United States in Congress assembled came to the following resolution,—“That a monument be erected to the memory of Nathaniel Greene,



The present letter is intended for the last upon the affairs of the United States; and shall close with some account of their respective constitutions.

You may recollect, that in the course of our correspondence, no account of New Hampshire state's having agreed upon a constitution, has been forwarded. The event itself did not take place till the 31st of last October. The returns from the several towns being examined; and it appearing, that the bill of rights and form of government laid before the people were approved of by them, the same were on that day established by the delegates of the people, and declared to be the civil constitution for the state of New Hampshire, to take place the first Wednesday of next June; and in the mean time, the general court under the present government is to make all the necessary arrangements for introducing the said constitution, at the time and in the manner therein described.

*New Hampshire* reckons *the rights of conscience* among the unalienable natural rights of mankind; and with her neighbouring sister state, the *Massachusetts*, declares that "no subject shall be hurt, molested or, restrained, in his person, liberty, or estate, for worshipping God, in the manner and season most agreeable to his own conscience; or for his religious profession or sentiments — provided he doth not disturb the public peace, or obstruct others in their religious worship." Both empower the legislature to authorize the several towns, parishes, bodies-politic, or religious societies, to make suitable provision at their own expence, for the support and maintenance of public *Protestant* teachers of piety, religion and morality, in all cases where such provision shall not be made voluntarily. But the towns, &c. are, at all times to have the

Greene, Esq; at the seat of the federal government, with the following inscription:

Sacred to the Memory of  
NATHANIEL GREENE, Esq.  
who departed this life, on  
the nineteenth of June, MDCCCLXXXVI;  
late MAJOR-GENERAL  
in the service of the United States,  
and

Commander of their Army  
in the Southern Department:  
The United States in Congress assembled,  
in honour of his  
Patriotism, Valour, and Ability,  
have erected this Monument.

the exclusive right of choosing their own public teachers; and of contracting with them for their support and maintenance. Instead of adding "And all persons, whatsoever opinions concerning religion they may profess;" their words are—"And every denomination of Christians demeaning themselves peaceably, and as good subjects of the commonwealth, shall be equally under the protection of the law; and no subordination of one sect or denomination to another, shall ever be established by law." The president, council, senate, and house of representatives of *New Hampshire*, are to be of the Protestant religion. The governor, lieutenant governor, counsellor, senator and representative of the *Massachusetts*, are to declare their belief in the Christian religion.

The foundation principle on which *Rhode Island* and *Providence Plantations* united, has been early mentioned. A similar sentiment was introduced into the charter of the 15th of Charles II. by which it is provided, "That no person within the said colony, at any time hereafter, shall be any wise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any differences of opinion in matters of religion, who does not actually disturb the civil peace of the said colony." The state of *Rhode Island* has continued its government since ceasing to be a colony, according to the general design of the charter. The constitution admits not of religious establishments, any further than the same depend upon the voluntary choice of individuals; and no particular sect can claim pre-eminence.

*Connecticut* has changed its former mode of government, only so far as to accommodate it to the separation which has taken place between that and the parent state. Religious liberty is nearly, if not exactly, upon the same footing there as in the *Massachusetts*.

The *New York* constitution, "to guard against that spiritual oppression and intolerance, wherewith the bigotry and ambition of weak and wicked priests and princes, have scourged mankind," ordains, determines, and declares, "that the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall for ever hereafter be allowed within the said state to all mankind. Provided, that the liberty of conscience hereby granted, shall not be so construed, as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of the state."

The state of *New Jersey* established, "That no person shall ever, within the same, be deprived of the inestimable privilege of worshipping Almighty God in a manner agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience; nor, under any pretence whatever, be compelled



compelled to attend any place of worship, contrary to his own faith and judgment; nor shall any person ever be obliged to pay tithes, taxes, or any other rates, for the purpose of building or repairing any other church or churches, place or places of worship, or for the maintenance of any minister or ministry, contrary to what he believes to be right, or has deliberately or voluntarily engaged himself to perform:—That there shall be no establishment of any one religious sect in preference to another; and that no Protestant inhabitant shall be denied the enjoyment of any civil right, merely on account of his religious principles; but that all persons professing a belief in the faith of any Protestant sect,\* who shall demean themselves peaceably under the government as hereby established, shall be capable of being elected into any office of profit or trust, or of being a member of either branch of the legislature, and shall fully and freely enjoy every privilege and immunity enjoyed by others their fellow subjects." The 17th article declares, "That the estates of such persons as shall destroy their own lives, shall not, for that offence, be forfeited; but shall descend in the same manner as they would have done, had such persons died in the natural way; nor shall any article which may occasion accidentally the death of any one, be henceforth deemed a deodand, or in any wise forfeited on account of such misfortune." A similar article was afterward introduced into the New Hampshire constitution.

The 2d article of the *Pennsylvania* declaration of rights asserts — "That all men have a natural and unalienable right to worship *Almighty God*, according to the dictates of their own consciences and understanding: and that no man ought, or, of right, can be compelled to attend any religious worship; or erect or support any place of worship; or maintain any ministry contrary to, or against his own free will and consent; nor can any man who acknowledges the being of a *God*, be justly deprived or abridged of any civil right as a citizen, on account of his religious sentiments,† or peculiar mode of religious worship; and that no authority can, or ought to be vested in, or assumed by, any power whatever, that shall, in any case interfere with, or in any manner control

\* "This is a more enlarged toleration than European policy has yet, in almost any instance, admitted: but perfect consistency would not confine it to Protestants, or to any system of religion."

† This however did not prevent a gross inconsistency in The Frame of Government, which, by the 10th section, requires, that in order for admission into the house of representatives, each member should subscribe, beside a declaration of his faith in one God, his acknowledgment of the scriptures of the Old and New Testament as of divine inspiration.

control the right of conscience, in the free exercise of religious worship." The 15th article declares, "That all men have a natural inherent right to emigrate from one state to another that will receive them, or to form a new state in vacant countries, or in such countries as they can purchase, whenever they think that thereby they may promote their own happiness.

The second article of the *Delaware* declaration is substantially the same with that of *Pennsylvania*. The 3d says, "That all persons professing the Christian religion, *ought for ever to enjoy equal rights and privileges* in the state;\* unless under colour of religion, any man disturb the peace, the happiness, or safety of society." By the 29th section in the system of government, it is fixed—"That there shall be no establishment of any one religious sect in the state in preference to another."

The *Maryland* declaration is remarkably full, particular, and pointed as to the objects of constitutional right and security. The 33d article relates to religious liberty, and expresses, "That as it is the duty of every man to worship *God* in such manner as he thinks most acceptable to him, all persons professing the Christian religion are equally entitled to protection in their religious liberty: wherefore no person ought, by any law, to be molested in his person or estate, on account of his religious persuasion or profession, or for his religious practice; unless, under colour of religion, any man shall disturb the good order, peace, or safety of the state, *or shall infringe the laws of morality*, or injure others in their natural, civil, or religious rights: nor ought any person to be compelled to frequent, or maintain, or contribute (unless on contract) to maintain any particular place of worship, or any particular ministry: yet the legislature may, in their discretion, lay a general and equal tax, for the support of the Christian religion; leaving to each individual the power of appointing the payment of the money collected from him, over to the support of any particular place of worship, or minister, or for the benefit of the poor of his own denomination, or the poor in general of any particular county. But the churches, chapels, glebes, and all other property now belonging to the church of England, ought to remain

\* The System of Government requires, notwithstanding, that every person, chosen a member of either house, or appointed to any office or place of trust, should formally declare his faith in the Trinitarian doctrine, and in the divine inspiration of the Old and New Testament.

† "This clause is certainly vague, and open to oppressive construction: all that can come under the legal punishment to be inflicted by a state, is expressed in the preceding and subsequent clauses."



main to the church of England for ever." A preceding article declared, "That there ought to be no forfeiture of any part of the estate of any person for any crime, except murder, or treason against the state, and then only on conviction and attainder. In the 55th section of the form of government, it is expressly appointed, that every person before entering on any office of trust or profit, shall subscribe a declaration of his belief in the Christian religion.

*Virginia* hath not introduced its form of government with any declaration of general principles: nor made mention of any either toleration or test. The executive power is divided between the governor, the council of state, and the county courts, or venerable collections of justices of peace. The delegates and senate may be of this rank. The governor's share of the executive is trifling. The county courts or justices of the peace, beside the authority of recommending to the governor candidates on vacancies in their own body, officers for the militia, and nominating the sheriffs and coroners, are to appoint the clerks of the several county courts in the commonwealth. For these reasons the constitution is charged with involving in it a system for perpetuating an aristocracy. It is thought, however, to be alterable at pleasure by subsequent legislatures, in as much as the electors of the delegates and representatives, who formed the convention in 1776, had no idea of independence and a permanent republic, and could not mean to vest in the convention any authorities other than those of the ordinary legislature.

*North Carolina* in the declaration of rights maintains, "That all men have a natural and unalienable right to worship *Almighty God*, according to the dictates of their own conscience; and yet establishes it as an article in the form of government, "That no person who shall deny the being of a *God*, or the truth of the Protestant religion, or the divine authority of the Old or New Testament, shall be capable of holding any office, or place of trust or profit in the civil department of the state."

By the *South Carolina* constitution, among the qualifications of electors for members of the house of representatives or senate, is that of "acknowledging the being of a *God*, and belief in a future state of rewards and punishments." It also prescribes—"That no person shall be eligible to sit in the house of representatives, unless he be of the Protestant religion:" and that the governor, the lieutenant governor, privy council and senate, shall be of the same religion. The 38th article provides—"That all persons and religious societies, who acknowledge that there is one *God*, and a future state of rewards and punishments, and that *God* is publicly to be worshipped, shall be freely tolerated."

ed." It then proceeds, "The Christian Protestant religion shall be deemed, and is hereby constituted and declared to be, the established religion of the state; and all denominations of Christian Protestants, demeaning themselves peaceably and faithfully, shall enjoy equal religious and civil privileges."

The constitution of *Georgia* declares—"That all persons whatever shall have the free exercise of their religion, provided it be not repugnant to the peace and safety of the state; and shall not, unless by consent, support any teacher or teachers, except those of their own profession:" but it requires that the representatives, who are the legislature of the state, and who elect out of their own body the governor and executive council, should be of the Protestant religion.

Some of the constitutions declare—"That no clergyman, or preacher of the gospel of any denomination, shall be capable of holding any civil office within the state." Such clergymen as are paid by, and so are the servants, of the state, may be justly excluded: but if they only enjoy the common protection of the state, it ought to have been left to their fellow citizens whether to elect them into places, and to themselves whether to accept; which neither the prudence of the one, nor the sacred duties of the other, will permit, unless upon some very extraordinary occasion.

The constitutions are so formed, that the inhabitants in common have a right to vote for representatives, though not to vote for several in different towns and places. In a few states every freeman of the full age of 21 years, having resided in the state for the space of one whole year before the day of election, and paid public taxes during that time, enjoys the right of an elector. In most, he must be worth thirty or forty-five pounds sterling. Certain states have provided for the establishing and perpetuating of an equal representation, in proportion to the numbers of freemen inhabiting the counties, cities, towns and districts.



The following Extracts from an Act for establishing *Religious Freedom*, passed in the Assembly of *Virginia* in the beginning of 1786, is added, in expectation of gratifying the curiosity, if not the taste, of most readers.

“WELL aware, that Almighty God hath created the mind free: that all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments or burthens, or by civil incapacitations, tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy, and are a departure from the plan of the Holy Author of our religion, who being Lord of body and mind, yet chose not to propagate it by coercions on either;—That the impious presumption of legislators and rulers, civil as well as ecclesiastical (who, being themselves but fallible and uninspired men, have assumed dominion over the faith of others, setting up their own opinions and modes of thinking as alone true and infallible, and as such endeavoring to impose them on others) hath established and maintained false religions over the greatest part of the world, and through all times;—That, to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves, is sinful and tyrannical;—That even the forcing a man to support this or that teacher of his own religious persuasion, is depriving him of the comfortable liberty of giving his contributions to the particular pastor, whose morals he would make his pattern, and whose powers he feels most persuasive to righteousness; and is withdrawing from the ministry, those temporal rewards, which, proceeding from an approbation of their personal conduct, are an additional incitement to earnest and unremitted labors for the instruction of mankind;—That our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions, any more than on our opinions in physic or geometry;—That, therefore, the prescribing any citizen as unworthy the public confidence, by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to offices of trust and emolument, unless he profess or renounces this or that religious opinion, is depriving him injuriously of those privileges and advantages to which in common with his fellow-citizens he has a natural right; and tends also to corrupt the principles of that very religion it is meant to encourage, by bribing with a monopoly of worldly honors and emoluments, those who will externally conform to it;—That though indeed those are criminal who do not withstand such temptations, yet neither are those innocent who lay them in their way;—That to suffer the civil magistrate to intrude his powers into the field of opinion, and to restrain the profession or propagation of principles on *supposition*

of their ill tendency, is a dangerous fallacy; which, at once destroys all religious liberty; because he, being of course judge of that tendency, will make his opinions the rule of judgment, and will approve or condemn the sentiments of others, only as they shall agree with, or differ from his own;—That it is time enough for the rightful purposes of civil government, for its officers to interpose when principles break out in overt acts against peace and good order:—And finally, that *truth* is great, and will prevail if left to herself; that *she is the proper and sufficient antagonist to error*, and can have nothing to fear from the conflict, unless by human interposition, disarmed of her natural weapons, *free argument and debate*—errors ceasing to be dangerous, when it is permitted freely to contradict them.

“Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly, that no man shall be compelled to support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever; nor shall be forced, restrained, molested or burthened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer, on account of his religious opinions or belief: but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion: and that *the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.*”

“And though we well know that this Assembly, elected by the people for the ordinary purposes of legislation only, have no power to restrain the acts of succeeding Assemblies, constituted with powers equal to our own; and that, therefore, to declare this act irrevocable, would be of no effect in law; yet we are free to declare, and do declare, that *the rights hereby asserted, are of the natural rights of mankind*; and that if any act shall be hereafter passed to repeal the present, or to narrow its operation, such act will be an infringement of *natural right.*”



*The United States in Congress Assembled, finding that the Articles of the Confederation would not enable them to surmount those National Embarrassments with which they were attended, at length recommended to the several Governments the appointing of Delegates to form a special Convention at Philadelphia. Most of them complied, and elected Gentlemen of distinguished Character to represent them. When the Delegates met in June 1787, Doctor Franklin proposed his Excellency George Washington for President; and he was unanimously chosen. After several Months close and free Deliberation, the following Publications made their Appearance, excepting the Parts included within the Crotchets.*

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[FRAME OF GOVERNMENT.]

WE the People of the UNITED STATES, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of AMERICA.

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[Legislative Powers.]

ARTICLE I.

[The HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES.]

SECTION I.

ALL Legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION II.

The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New-Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New-Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North-Carolina five, South-Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the Executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

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## [S E N A T E.]

### SECTION III.

**T**HE Senate of the United States, shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The



The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the Members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

#### SECTION IV.

The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

#### [The GENERAL CONGRESS.]

THE Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first *Monday* in *December*, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

#### SECTION V.

Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own Members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business: but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent Members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a Member.

Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the Members of either House, on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither

Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that, in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

## SECTION VI.

The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the U. States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House, during his continuance in office.

## [The Powers of CONGRESS.]

## SECTION VII.

**A**LL bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be considered, and if approved by two-thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively.— If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays



(Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States : and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

#### SECTION VIII.

The Congress shall have power—To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States ; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States ;—To borrow money on the credit of the United States ;—To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes ;—To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States ;—To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures ;—To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States ;—To establish post-offices and post-roads ;—To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries ;—To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court ;—To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations ;—To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water ;—To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years ;—To provide and maintain a navy ; To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces ;—To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions ;—To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority

authority of training the militia, according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;—To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings; and to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

[Restrictions upon Congress.]

SECTION IX.

THE migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year *one thousand eight hundred and eight*, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

No capitation, or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No monies shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States:—And no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

[Restrictions



## [Restrictions upon respective States.]

## SECTION X.

NO State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any States on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and controul of the Congress. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

## [Executive Power.]

## ARTICLE II.

## [PRESIDENT.]

## SECTION I.

THE Executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such a manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The

person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors, shall be the Vice-President.— But if there shall remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation or inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services, a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

“ I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.”



## SECTION II.

The President shall be Commander in Chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law. But the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

## SECTION III.

He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient: he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

## SECTION IV.

The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

## ARTICLE III.

[Judiciary Power.]

## SECTION I.

THE Judiciary Power of the United States, shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such Inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges,

Judges, both of the Supreme and Inferior Courts, shall hold their offices during good behaviour, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

## SECTION II.

The Judicial Power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States, between a state and citizens of another state, between citizens of different States, between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.

In all cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a state shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any state, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

## SECTION III.

Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

## ARTICLE IV.

## SECTION I.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

## SECTION II.

The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.



A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or any other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.

[General Regulations.]

SECTION III.

NEW states may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state; nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state.

SECTION IV.

The United States shall guarantee to every state in this Union, a Republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

[Amendments Provided.]

ARTICLE V.

THE Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, shall call a Convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by Conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided, that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth Section of the first Article; and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

[General

[General Regulations.]

## ARTICLE VI.

ALL debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States, which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives beforementioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

## ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the Conventions of Nine States, shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth.

In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names,

GEORGE WASHINGTON, *President,*  
and Deputy from Virginia.

New-Hampshire. *John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.*—Massachusetts. *Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King.*—Connecticut. *William Samuel Johnston, Roger Sherman.*—New-York. *Alexander Hamilton.*—New-Jersey. *William Livingston, David Brearley, William Patterson, Jonathan Dayton.*—Pennsylvania. *Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris.*—Delaware. *George Read, Gunning Bedford, jun. John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom.*—Maryland. *James M'Henry, Daniel of St. Tho. Jenifer, Daniel Carroll.*—Virginia. *John Blair, James Madison, jun.*—North-Carolina. *William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson.*—South-Carolina. *John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler.*—Georgia. *William Few, Abraham Baldwin.*

Attest, WILLIAM JACKSON, Secretary.

In



In CONVENTION, MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1787.

P R E S E N T,

The States of NEW-HAMPSHIRE, MASSACHUSETTS, CONNECTICUT, Mr. *Hamilton* from NEW-YORK, NEW-JERSEY, PENNSYLVANIA, DELAWARE, MARYLAND, VIRGINIA, NORTH-CAROLINA, SOUTH-CAROLINA, and GEORGIA:

R E S O L V E D,

**T**HAT the preceding Constitution be laid before the United States in Congress assembled, and that it is the opinion of this Convention, that it should afterwards be submitted to a Convention of Delegates, chosen in each State by the people thereof, under the recommendation of its Legislature, for their assent and ratification; and that each Convention assenting to, and ratifying the same, should give Notice thereof to the United States in Congress assembled.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Convention, that as soon as the Conventions of Nine States shall have ratified this Constitution, the United States in Congress assembled should fix a day on which Electors should be appointed by the States which shall have ratified the same, and a day on which the Electors should assemble to vote for the President, and the time and place for commencing proceedings under this Constitution: That after such publication the Electors should be appointed, and the Senators and Representatives elected: That the Electors should meet on the day fixed for the Election of the President, and should transmit their votes certified, signed, sealed and directed, as the Constitution requires, to the Secretary of the United States in Congress assembled, that the Senators and Representatives should convene at the time and place assigned; that the Senators should appoint a President of the Senate, for the sole purpose of receiving, opening and counting the votes for President; and, that after he shall be chosen, the Congress, together with the President, should, without delay, proceed to execute this Constitution. By the unanimous Order of the Convention,

GEORGE WASHINGTON, President.

William Jackson, Secretary.

In CONVENTION, SEPTEMBER 17, 1787.

S I R.

**W**E have now the honor to submit to the consideration of the United States in Congress assembled, that Constitution which has appeared to us the most adviseable.

The friends of our country have long seen and desired, that the power of making war, peace and treaties, that of levying money

ney and regulating commerce, and the correspondent executive and judicial authorities, should be fully and effectually vested in the general government of the Union: but the impropriety of delegating such extensive trust to one body of men is evident—Hence results the necessity of a different organization.

It is obviously impracticable in the federal government of these States, to secure all rights of independent sovereignty to each, and yet provide for the interest and safety of all.—Individuals entering into society, must give up a share of liberty to preserve the rest. The magnitude of the sacrifice must depend as well on situation and circumstance, as on the object to be obtained. It is at all times difficult to draw with precision the line between those rights which must be surrendered, and those which may be reserved; and on the present occasion this difficulty was increased by a difference among the several States as to their situation, extent, habits, and particular interests.

In all our deliberations on this subject, we kept steadily on our view, that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American, the consolidation of our Union, in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence.—This important consideration, seriously and deeply impressed on our minds, led each State in the Convention to be less rigid on points of inferior magnitude, than might have been otherwise expected; and thus the Constitution, which we now present, is the result of a spirit of amity, and of that mutual deference and concession which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable.

That it will meet the full and entire approbation of every State is not perhaps to be expected; but each will doubtless consider, that had her interests been alone consulted, the consequences might have been particularly disagreeable or injurious to others; that it is liable to as few exceptions as could reasonably have been expected, we hope and believe; that it may promote the lasting welfare of that country so dear to us all, and secure her freedom and happiness, is our most ardent wish. With great respect, we have the honor to be,

S I R,

Your Excellency's most obedient,

And humble servants,

GEORGE WASHINGTON, President.

By unanimous order of the Convention.

*His Excellency the President of Congress.*

THE END OF THE THIRD AND LAST VOLUME.



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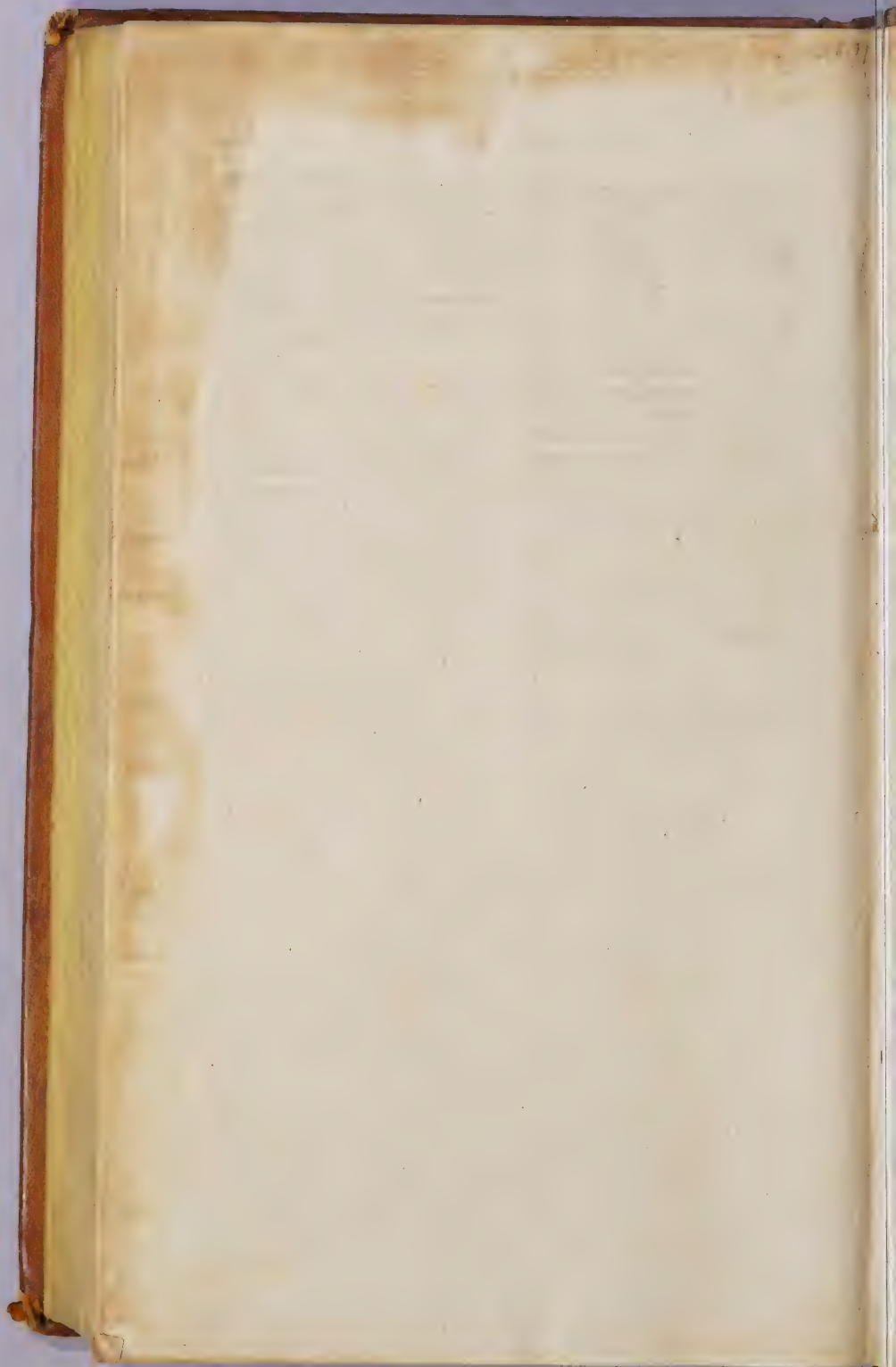
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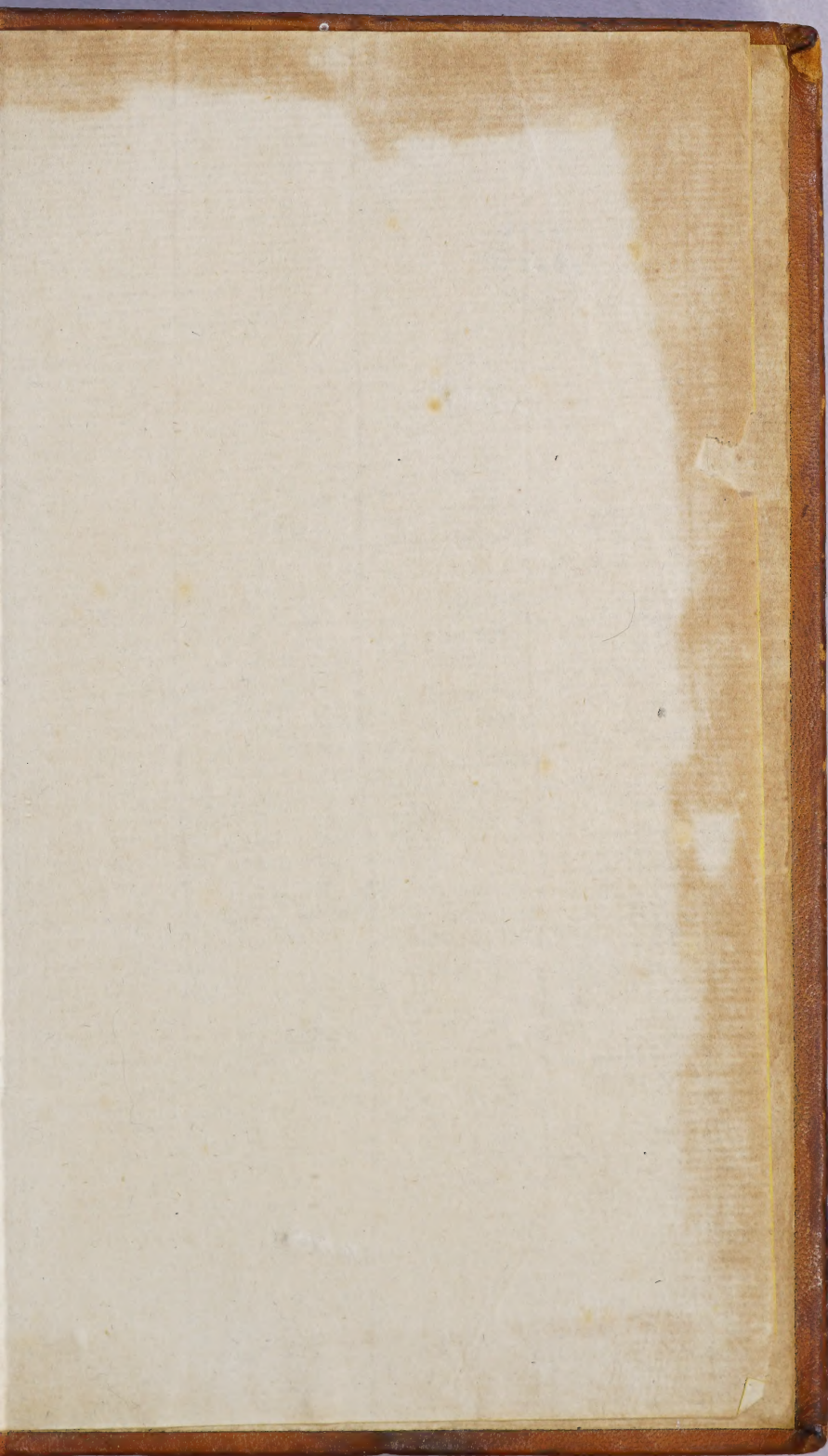
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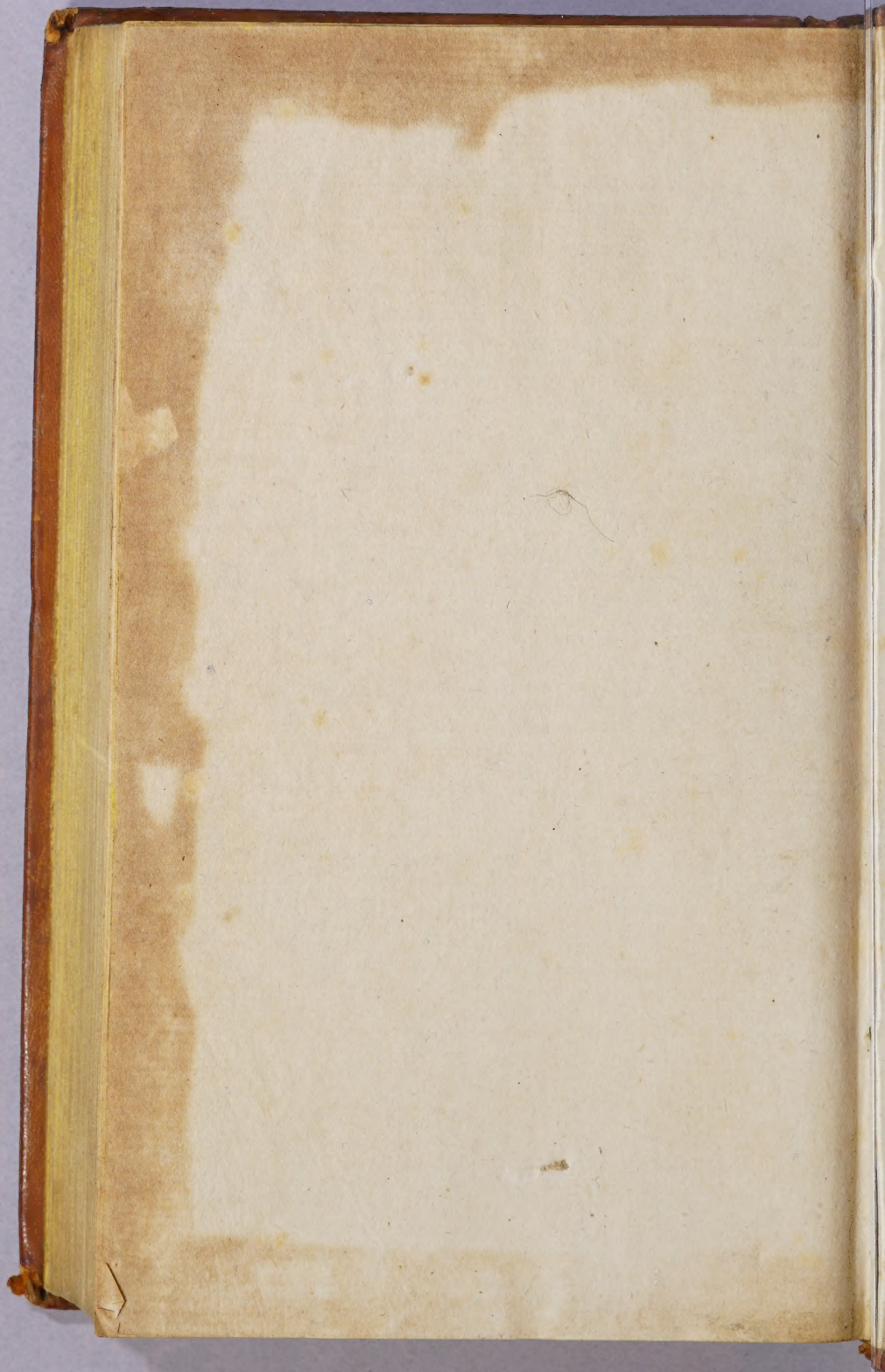














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